LIBRARY OF CHINESE CLASSICS
CHINESE-ENGLISH

大中华文库
汉英对照

汉魏六朝文选

SELECTIONS OF THE HAN, WEI AND SIX DYNASTIES

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贾谊 等 著

谢百魁等 译

Written by Jia Yi et al

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总　　序

杨牧之

《大中华文库》终于出版了。我们为之高兴，为之鼓舞，但也倍感压力。

当此之际，我们愿将郁积在我们心底的话，向读者倾诉。

一

中华民族有着悠久的历史和灿烂的文化，系统、准确地将中华民族的文化经典翻译成外文，编辑出版，介绍给全世界，是几代中国人的愿望。早在几十年前，西方一位学者翻译《红楼梦》，将书名译成《一个红楼上的梦》，将林黛玉译为“黑色的玉”。我们一方面对外国学者将中国的名著介绍到世界上去表示由衷的感谢，一方面为祖国的名著还不被完全认识，甚而受到曲解，而感到深深的遗憾。还有西方学者翻译《金瓶梅》，专门摘选其中自然主义描述最为突出的篇章加以译介。一时间，西方学者好像发现了奇迹，掀起了《金瓶梅》热，说中国是“性开放的源头”，公开地在报刊上鼓吹中国要“发扬开放之传统”。还有许多资深、友善的汉学家译介中国古代的哲学著作，在把中华民族文化介绍给全世界的工作方面作出了重大贡献，但或囿于理解有误，或缘于对中国文字认识的局限，质量上乘的并不多，常常是隔靴搔痒，说不到点子上。大哲学家黑格尔曾经说过：中国有最

完备的国史。但他认为中国古代没有真正意义上的哲学，还处在哲学史前状态。这么了不起的哲学家竟然作出这样大失水准的评论，何其不幸。正如任何哲学家都要受时间、地点、条件的制约一样，黑格尔也离不开这一规律。当时他也只能从上述水平的汉学家译过去的文字去分析、理解，所以，黑格尔先生对中国古代社会的认识水平是什么状态，也就不难想象了。

中国离不开世界，世界也缺少不了中国。中国文化摄取外域的新成分，丰富了自己，又以自己的新成就输送给别人，贡献于世界。从公元5世纪开始到公元15世纪，大约有一千年，中国走在世界的前列。在这一千多年的时间里，她的光辉照耀全世界。人类要前进，怎么能不全面认识中国，怎么能不认真研究中国的历史呢?

二

中华民族是伟大的，曾经辉煌过，蓝天、白云、阳光灿烂，和平而兴旺；也有过黑暗的、想起来就让人战栗的日子，但中华民族从来是充满理想，不断追求，不断学习，渴望和平与友谊的。

中国古代伟大的思想家孔子曾经说过：“三人行，必有我师焉。择其善者而从之，其不善者而改之。”孔子的话就是要人们向别人学习。这段话正是概括了整个中华民族与人交往的原则。人与人之间交往如此，在与周边的国家交往中也是如此。

秦始皇第一个统一了中国，可惜在位只有十几年，来不及做更多的事情。汉朝继秦而继续强大，便开始走出去，了

解自己周边的世界。公元前138年，汉武帝派张骞出使西域。他带着一万头牛羊，总值一万万钱的金帛货物，作为礼物，开始西行，最远到过“安息”（即波斯）。公元73年，班超又率36人出使西域。36个人按今天的话说，也只有一个排，显然是为了拜访未曾见过面的邻居，是去交朋友。到了西域，班超派遣甘英作为使者继续西行，往更远处的大秦国（即罗马）去访问，“乃抵条支而历安息，临西海以望大秦”（《后汉书·西域传》）。“条支”在“安息”以西，即今天的伊拉克、叙利亚一带，“西海”应是今天的地中海。也就是说甘英已经到达地中海边上，与罗马帝国隔海相望，“临大海欲渡”，却被人劝阻而未成行，这在历史上留下了遗恨。可以想见班超、甘英沟通友谊的无比勇气和强烈愿望。接下来是唐代的玄奘，历经千难万险，到“西天”印度取经，带回了南亚国家的古老文化。归国后，他把带回的佛教经典组织人翻译，到后来很多经典印度失传了，但中国却保存完好，以至于今天，没有玄奘的《大唐西域记》，印度人很难编写印度古代史。明代郑和“七下西洋”，把中华文化传到东南亚一带。鸦片战争以后，一代又一代先进的中国人，为了振兴中华，又前赴后继，向西方国家学习先进的科学思想和文明成果。这中间有我们的领导人朱德、周恩来、邓小平；有许许多多大科学家、文学家、艺术家，如郭沫若、李四光、钱学森、冼星海、徐悲鸿等。他们的追求、奋斗，他们的博大胸怀、兼收并蓄的精神，为人类社会增添了光彩。

中国文化的形成和发展过程，就是一个以众为师、以各国人民为师，不断学习和创造的过程。中华民族曾经向周边国家和民族学习过许多东西，假如没有这些学习，中华民族绝不可能创造出昔日的辉煌。回顾历史，我们怎么能够不对

伟大的古埃及文明、古希腊文明、古印度文明满怀深深的感激？怎么能够不对伟大的欧洲文明、非洲文明、美洲文明、澳洲文明，以及中国周围的亚洲文明充满温情与敬意？

中华民族为人类社会曾作出过独特的贡献。在15世纪以前，中国的科学技术一直处于世界遥遥领先的地位。英国科学家李约瑟说："中国在公元3世纪到13世纪之间，保持着一个西方所望尘莫及的科学知识水平。"美国耶鲁大学教授、《大国的兴衰》的作者保罗·肯尼迪坦言："在近代以前时期的所有文明中，没有一个国家的文明比中国更发达，更先进。"

世界各国的有识之士千里迢迢来中国观光、学习。在这个过程中，中国唐朝的长安城渐渐发展成为国际大都市。西方的波斯、东罗马，东亚的高丽、新罗、百济、南天竺、北天竺，频繁前来。外国的王侯、留学生，在长安供职的外国官员，商贾、乐工和舞士，总有几十个国家，几万人之多。日本派出"遣唐使"更是一批接一批。传为美谈的日本人阿倍仲麻吕（晁衡）在长安留学的故事，很能说明外国人与中国的交往。晁衡学成仕于唐朝，前后历时五十余年。晁衡与中国的知识分子结下了深厚的友情。他归国时，传说在海中遇难身亡。大诗人李白作诗哭悼："日本晁卿辞帝都，征帆一片远蓬壶。明月不归沉碧海，白云愁色满苍梧。"晁衡遇险是误传，但由此可见中外学者之间在中国长安交往的情谊。

后来，不断有外国人到中国来探寻秘密，所见所闻，常常让他们目瞪口呆。《希腊纪事》（希腊人波桑尼阿著）记载公元2世纪时，希腊人在中国的见闻。书中写道："赛里斯人用小米和青芦喂一种类似蜘蛛的昆虫，喂到第五年，虫肚子胀裂开，便从里面取出丝来。"从这段对中国古代养蚕

技术的描述，可见当时欧洲人与中国人的差距。公元9世纪中叶，阿拉伯人来到中国。一位阿拉伯作家在他所著的《中国印度闻见录》中记载了曾旅居中国的阿拉伯商人的见闻：

——一天，一个外商去拜见驻守广州的中国官吏。会见时，外商总盯着官吏的胸部，官吏很奇怪，便问："你好像总盯着我的胸，这是怎么回事？"那位外商回答说："透过你穿的丝绸衣服，我隐约看到你胸口上长着一个黑痣，这是什么丝绸，我感到十分惊奇。"官吏听后，失声大笑，伸出胳膊，说："请你数数吧，看我穿了几件衣服？"那商人数过，竟然穿了五件之多，黑痣正是透过这五层丝绸衣服显现出来的。外商惊得目瞪口呆，官吏说："我穿的丝绸还不算是最好的，总督穿的要更精美。"

——书中关于茶（他们叫干草叶子）的记载，可见阿拉伯国家当时还没有喝茶的习惯。书中记述："中国国王本人的收入主要靠盐税和泡开水喝的一种干草税。在各个城市里，这种干草叶售价都很高，中国人称这种草叶叫'茶'，这种干草叶比苜蓿的叶子还多，也略比它香，稍有苦味，用开水冲喝，治百病。"

——他们对中国的医疗条件十分羡慕，书中记载道："中国人医疗条件很好，穷人可以从国库中得到药费。"还说："城市里，很多地方立一石碑，高10肘，上面刻有各种疾病和药物，写明某种病用某种药医治。"

——关于当时中国的京城，书中作了生动的描述：中国的京城很大，人口众多，一条宽阔的长街把全城分为两半，大街右边的东区，住着皇帝、宰相、禁军及皇家的总管、奴婢。在这个区域，沿街开凿了小河，流水潺潺；路旁，葱茏的树木整然有序，一幢幢宅邸鳞次栉比。大街左边的西区，

住着庶民和商人。这里有货栈和商店，每当清晨，人们可以看到，皇室的总管、宫廷的仆役，或骑马或步行，到这里来采购。

此后的史籍对西人来华的记载，渐渐多了起来。13 世纪意大利旅行家马可·波罗，尽管有人对他是否真的到过中国持怀疑态度，但他留下一部记述元代事件的《马可·波罗游记》却是确凿无疑的。这部游记中的一些关于当时中国的描述使得西方人认为是“天方夜谭”。总之，从中西文化交流史来说，这以前的时期还是一个想象和臆测的时代，相互之间充满了好奇与幻想。

从 16 世纪末开始，由于航海技术的发展，东西方航路的开通，随着一批批传教士来华，中国与西方开始了直接的交流。沟通中西的使命在意大利传教士利玛窦那里有了充分的体现。利玛窦于 1582 年来华，1610 年病逝于北京，在华二十余年。除了传教以外，做了两件具有历史象征意义的事，一是 1594 年前后在韶州用拉丁文翻译《四书》，并作了注释；二是与明代学者徐光启合作，用中文翻译了《几何原本》。

西方传教士对《四书》等中国经典的粗略翻译，以及杜赫德的《中华帝国志》等书对中国的介绍，在西方读者的眼前展现了一个异域文明，在当时及稍后一段时期引起了一场“中国热”，许多西方大思想家的眼光都曾注目于中国文化。有的推崇中华文明，如莱布尼兹、伏尔泰、魁奈等，有的对中华文明持批评态度，如孟德斯鸠、黑格尔等。莱布尼兹认识到中国文化的某些思想与他的观念相近，如周易的卦象与他发明的二进制相契合，对中国文化给予了热情的礼赞；黑格尔则从他整个哲学体系的推演出发，认为中国没有真正意义上的哲学，还处在哲学史前的状态。但是，不论是推崇还

是批评，是吸纳还是排斥，中西文化的交流产生了巨大的影响。随着先进的中国科学技术的西传，特别是中国的造纸、火药、印刷术和指南针四大发明的问世，大大改变了世界的面貌。马克思说："中国的火药把骑士阶层炸得粉碎，指南针打开了世界市场并建立了殖民地，而印刷术则变成了新教的工具，变成对精神发展创造必要前提的最强大的杠杆。"英国的哲学家培根说：中国的四大发明"改变了全世界的面貌和一切事物的状态"。

三

大千世界，潮起潮落。云散云聚，万象更新。中国古代产生了无数伟大的科学家：祖冲之、李时珍、孙思邈、张衡、沈括、毕昇……产生了无数科技成果：《齐民要术》、《九章算术》、《伤寒杂病论》、《本草纲目》……以及保存至今的世界奇迹：浑天仪、地动仪、都江堰、敦煌石窟、大运河、万里长城……但从15世纪下半叶起，风水似乎从东方转到了西方，落后的欧洲只经过400年便成为世界瞩目的文明中心。英国的牛顿、波兰的哥白尼、德国的伦琴、法国的居里、德国的爱因斯坦、意大利的伽利略、俄国的门捷列夫、美国的费米和爱迪生……光芒四射，令人敬仰。

中华民族开始思考了。潮起潮落究竟是什么原因?中国人发明的火药，传到欧洲，转眼之间反成为欧洲列强轰击中国大门的炮弹，又是因为什么?

鸦片战争终于催醒了中国人沉睡的迷梦，最先"睁眼看世界"的一代精英林则徐、魏源迈出了威武雄壮的一步。曾国藩、李鸿章搞起了洋务运动。中国的知识分子喊出"民主

与科学”的口号。中国是落后了，中国的志士仁人在苦苦探索。但落后中饱含着变革的动力，探索中孕育着崛起的希望。“向科学进军”，中华民族终于又迎来了科学的春天。

今天，世界毕竟来到了21世纪的门槛。分散隔绝的世界，逐渐变成联系为一体的世界。现在，全球一体化趋势日益明显，人类历史也就在愈来愈大的程度上成为全世界的历史。当今，任何一种文化的发展都离不开对其他优秀文化的汲取，都以其他优秀文化的发展为前提。在近现代，西方文化汲取中国文化，不仅是中国文化的传播，更是西方文化自身的创新和发展；正如中国文化对西方文化的汲取一样，既是西方文化在中国的传播，同时也是中国文化在近代的转型和发展。地球上所有的人类文化，都是我们共同的宝贵遗产。既然我们生活的各个大陆，在地球史上曾经是连成一气的“泛大陆”，或者说是一个完整的“地球村”，那么，我们同样可以在这个以知识和学习为特征的网络时代，走上相互学习、共同发展的大路，建设和开拓我们人类崭新的“地球村”。

西学仍在东渐，中学也将西传。各国人民的优秀文化正日益迅速地为中国文化所汲取，而无论西方和东方，也都需要从中国文化中汲取养分。正是基于这一认识，我们组织出版汉英对照版《大中华文库》，全面系统地翻译介绍中国传统文化典籍。我们试图通过《大中华文库》，向全世界展示，中华民族五千年的追求、五千年的梦想，正在新的历史时期重放光芒。中国人民就像火后的凤凰，万众一心，迎接新世纪文明的太阳。

1999年8月　北京

PREFACE TO THE *LIBRARY OF CHINESE CLASSICS*

Yang Muzhi

The publication of the *Library of Chinese Classics* is a matter of great satisfaction to all of us who have been involved in the production of this monumental work. At the same time, we feel a weighty sense of responsibility, and take this opportunity to explain to our readers the motivation for undertaking this cross-century task.

1

The Chinese nation has a long history and a glorious culture, and it has been the aspiration of several generations of Chinese scholars to translate, edit and publish the whole corpus of the Chinese literary classics so that the nation's greatest cultural achievements can be introduced to people all over the world. There have been many translations of the Chinese classics done by foreign scholars. A few dozen years ago, a Western scholar translated the title of *A Dream of Red Mansions* into "A Dream of Red Chambers" and Lin Daiyu, the heroine in the novel, into "Black Jade." But while their endeavours have been laudable, the results of their labours have been less than satisfactory. Lack of knowledge of Chinese culture and an inadequate grasp of the Chinese written language have led the translators into many errors. As a consequence, not only are Chinese classical writings widely misunderstood in the rest of the world, in some cases their content has actually been distorted. At one time, there was a "*Jin Ping Mei* craze" among Western scholars, who thought that they had uncovered a miraculous phenomenon, and published theories claiming that China was the "fountainhead of eroticism," and that a Chinese "tradition of permissiveness" was about to be laid bare. This distorted view came about due to the translators of the *Jin Ping Mei (Plum in the Golden Vase)* putting one-sided stress on the raw elements in that novel,

to the neglect of its overall literary value. Meanwhile, there have been many distinguished and well-intentioned Sinologists who have attempted to make the culture of the Chinese nation more widely known by translating works of ancient Chinese philosophy. However, the quality of such work, in many cases, is unsatisfactory, often missing the point entirely. The great philosopher Hegel considered that ancient China had no philosophy in the real sense of the word, being stuck in philosophical "prehistory." For such an eminent authority to make such a colossal error of judgment is truly regrettable. But, of course, Hegel was just as subject to the constraints of time, space and other objective conditions as anyone else, and since he had to rely for his knowledge of Chinese philosophy on inadequate translations it is not difficult to imagine why he went so far off the mark.

China cannot be separated from the rest of the world; and the rest of thc world cannot ignore China. Throughout its history, Chinese civilization has enriched itself by absorbing new elements from the outside world, and in turn has contributed to the progress of world civilization as a whole by transmitting to other peoples its own cultural achievements. From the 5th to the 15th centuries, China marched in the front ranks of world civilization. If mankind wishes to advance, how can it afford to ignore China? How can it afford not to make a thoroughgoing study of its history?

2

Despite the ups and downs in their fortunes, the Chinese people have always been idealistic, and have never ceased to forge ahead and learn from others, eager to strengthen ties of peace and friendship.

The great ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius once said, "Wherever three persons come together, one of them will surely be able to teach me something. I will pick out his good points and emulate them; his bad points I will reform." Confucius meant by this that we should always be ready to learn from others. This maxim encapsulates the principle the Chinese people have always followed in their dealings with other peoples, not only on an individual basis but also at the level of state-to-state relations.

After generations of internecine strife, China was unified by Emperor

Qin Shi Huang (the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty) in 221 B.C. The Han Dynasty, which succeeded that of the short-lived Qin, waxed powerful, and for the first time brought China into contact with the outside world. In 138 B.C., Emperor Wu dispatched Zhang Qian to the western regions, i.e. Central Asia. Zhang, who traveled as far as what is now Iran, took with him as presents for the rulers he visited on the way 10,000 head of sheep and cattle, as well as gold and silks worth a fabulous amount. In 73 D.C., Ban Chao headed a 36-man legation to the western regions. These were missions of friendship to visit neighbours the Chinese people had never met before and to learn from them. Ban Chao sent Gan Ying to explore further toward the west. According to the "Western Regions Section" in the *Book of Later Han*, Gan Ying traveled across the territories of present-day Iraq and Syria, and reached the Mediterranean Sea, an expedition which brought him within the confines of the Roman Empire. Later, during the Tang Dynasty, the monk Xuan Zang made a journey fraught with danger to reach India and seek the knowledge of that land. Upon his return, he organized a team of scholars to translate the Buddhist scriptures, which he had brought back with him. As a result, many of these scriptural classics which were later lost in India have been preserved in China. In fact, it would have been difficult for the people of India to reconstruct their own ancient history if it had not been for Xuan Zang's *A Record of a Journey to the West in the Time of the Great Tang Dynasty*. In the Ming Dynasty, Zheng He transmitted Chinese culture to Southeast Asia during his seven voyages. Following the Opium Wars in the mid-19th century, progressive Chinese, generation after generation, went to study the advanced scientific thought and cultural achievements of the Western countries. Their aim was to revive the fortunes of their own country. Among them were people who were later to become leaders of China, including Zhu De, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. In addition, there were people who were to become leading scientists, literary figures and artists, such as Guo Moruo, Li Siguang, Qian Xuesen, Xian Xinghai and Xu Beihong. Their spirit of ambition, their struggles and their breadth of vision were an inspiration not only to the Chinese people but to people all over the world.

Indeed, it is true that if the Chinese people had not learned many

things from the surrounding countries they would never have been able to produce the splendid achievements of former days. When we look back upon history, how can we not feel profoundly grateful for the legacies of the civilizations of ancient Egypt, Greece and India? How can we not feel fondness and respect for the cultures of Europe, Africa, America and Oceania?

The Chinese nation, in turn, has made unique contributions to the community of mankind. Prior to the 15th century, China led the world in science and technology. The British scientist Joseph Needham once said, "From the third century A.D. to the 13th century A.D. China was far ahead of the West in the level of its scientific knowledge." Paul Kennedy, of Yale University in the U.S., author of *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, said, "Of all the civilizations of the pre-modern period, none was as well-developed or as progressive as that of China."

Foreigners who came to China were often astonished at what they saw and heard. The Greek geographer Pausanias in the second century A.D. gave the first account in the West of the technique of silk production in China: "The Chinese feed a spider-like insect with millet and reeds. After five years the insect's stomach splits open, and silk is extracted therefrom." From this extract, we can see that the Europeans at that time did not know the art of silk manufacture. In the middle of the 9th century A.D., an Arabian writer includes the following anecdote in his *Account of China and India*:

"One day, an Arabian merchant called upon the military governor of Guangzhou. Throughout the meeting, the visitor could not keep his eyes off the governor's chest. Noticing this, the latter asked the Arab merchant what he was staring at. The merchant replied, 'Through the silk robe you are wearing, I can faintly see a black mole on your chest. Your robe must be made out of very fine silk indeed!' The governor burst out laughing, and holding out his sleeve invited the merchant to count how many garments he was wearing. The merchant did so, and discovered that the governor was actually wearing five silk robes, one on top of the other, and they were made of such fine material that a tiny mole could be seen through them all! Moreover, the governor explained that the robes he was wearing were not made of the finest silk at all; silk of the highest

grade was reserved for the garments worn by the provincial governor."

The references to tea in this book (the author calls it "dried grass") reveal that the custom of drinking tea was unknown in the Arab countries at that time: "The king of China's revenue comes mainly from taxes on salt and the dry leaves of a kind of grass which is drunk after boiled water is poured on it. This dried grass is sold at a high price in every city in the country. The Chinese call it 'cha.' The bush is like alfalfa, except that it bears more leaves, which are also more fragrant than alfalfa. It has a slightly bitter taste, and when it is infused in boiling water it is said to have medicinal properties."

Foreign visitors showed especial admiration for Chinese medicine. One wrote, "China has very good medical conditions. Poor people are given money to buy medicines by the government."

In this period, when Chinese culture was in full bloom, scholars flocked from all over the world to China for sightseeing and for study. Chang'an, the capital of the Tang Dynasty was host to visitors from as far away as the Byzantine Empire, not to mention the neighboring countries of Asia. Chang'an, at that time the world's greatest metropolis, was packed with thousands of foreign dignitaries, students, diplomats, merchants, artisans and entertainers. Japan especially sent contingent after contingent of envoys to the Tang court. Worthy of note are the accounts of life in Chang'an written by Abeno Nakamaro, a Japanese scholar who studied in China and had close friendships with ministers of the Tang court and many Chinese scholars in a period of over 50 years. The description throws light on the exchanges between Chinese and foreigners in this period. When Abeno was supposedly lost at sea on his way back home, the leading poet of the time, Li Bai, wrote a eulogy for him.

The following centuries saw a steady increase in the accounts of China written by Western visitors. The Italian Marco Polo described conditions in China during the Yuan Dynasty in his *Travels*. However, until advances in the science of navigation led to the opening of east-west shipping routes at the beginning of the 16th century Sino-Western cultural exchanges were coloured by fantasy and conjecture. Concrete progress was made when a contingent of religious missionaries, men well versed in Western science and technology, made their way to China, ushering in an era of

direct contacts between China and the West. The experience of this era was embodied in the career of the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci. Arriving in China in 1582, Ricci died in Beijing in 1610. Apart from his missionary work, Ricci accomplished two historically symbolic tasks — one was the translation into Latin of the "Four Books," together with annotations, in 1594; the other was the translation into Chinese of Euclid's *Elements*.

The rough translations of the "Four Books" and other Chinese classical works by Western missionaries, and the publication of Père du Halde's *Description Geographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de l'Empire de la Chine* revealed an exotic culture to Western readers, and sparked a "China fever," during which the eyes of many Western intellectuals were fixed on China. Some of these intellectuals, including Leibniz, held China in high esteem; others, such as Hegel, nursed a critical attitude toward Chinese culture. Leibniz considered that some aspects of Chinese thought were close to his own views, such as the philosophy of the *Book of Changes* and his own binary system. Hegel, on the other hand, as mentioned above, considered that China had developed no proper philosophy of its own. Nevertheless, no matter whether the reaction was one of admiration, criticism, acceptance or rejection, Sino-Western exchanges were of great significance. The transmission of advanced Chinese science and technology to the West, especially the Chinese inventions of paper-making, gunpowder, printing and the compass, greatly changed the face of the whole world. Karl Marx said, "Chinese gunpowder blew the feudal class of knights to smithereens; the compass opened up world markets and built colonies; and printing became an implement of Protestantism and the most powerful lever and necessary precondition for intellectual development and creation." The English philosopher Roger Bacon said that China's four great inventions had "changed the face of the whole world and the state of affairs of everything."

3

Ancient China gave birth to a large number of eminent scientists, such as Zu Chongzhi, Li Shizhen, Sun Simiao, Zhang Heng, Shen Kuo and Bi Sheng. They produced numerous treatises on scientific subjects, includ-

ing *The Manual of Important Arts for the People's Welfare, Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art, A Treatise on Febrile Diseases* and *Compendium of Materia Medica.* Their accomplishments included ones whose influence has been felt right down to modern times, such as the armillary sphere, seismograph, Dujiangyan water conservancy project, Dunhuang Grottoes, Grand Canal and Great Wall. But from the latter part of the 15th century, and for the next 400 years, Europe gradually became the cultural centre upon which the world's eyes were fixed. The world's most outstanding scientists then were England's Isaac Newton, Poland's Copernicus, France's Marie Curie, Germany's Rontgen and Einstein, Italy's Galileo, Russia's Mendelev and America's Edison.

The Chinese people then began to think: What is the cause of the rise and fall of nations? Moreover, how did it happen that gunpowder, invented in China and transmitted to the West, in no time at all made Europe powerful enough to batter down the gates of China herself?

It took the Opium War to wake China from its reverie. The first generation to make the bold step of "turning our eyes once again to the rest of the world" was represented by Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang started the Westernization Movement, and later intellectuals raised the slogan of "Democracy and Science." Noble-minded patriots, realizing that China had fallen behind in the race for modernization, set out on a painful quest. But in backwardness lay the motivation for change, and the quest produced the embryo of a towering hope, and the Chinese people finally gathered under a banner proclaiming a "March Toward Science."

On the threshold of the 21st century, the world is moving in the direction of becoming an integrated entity. This trend is becoming clearer by the day. In fact, the history of the various peoples of the world is also becoming the history of mankind as a whole. Today, it is impossible for any nation's culture to develop without absorbing the excellent aspects of the cultures of other peoples. When Western culture absorbs aspects of Chinese culture, this is not just because it has come into contact with Chinese culture, but also because of the active creativity and development of Western culture itself; and vice versa. The various cultures of the world's peoples are a precious heritage which we all share. Mankind

no longer lives on different continents, but on one big continent, or in a "global village." And so, in this era characterized by an all-encompassing network of knowledge and information we should learn from each other and march in step along the highway of development to construct a brand-new "global village."

Western learning is still being transmitted to the East, and vice versa. China is accelerating its pace of absorption of the best parts of the cultures of other countries, and there is no doubt that both the West and the East need the nourishment of Chinese culture. Based on this recognition, we have edited and published the *Library of Chinese Classics* in a Chinese-English format as an introduction to the corpus of traditional Chinese culture in a comprehensive and systematic translation. Through this collection, our aim is to reveal to the world the aspirations and dreams of the Chinese people over the past 5,000 years and the splendour of the new historical era in China. Like a phoenix rising from the ashes, the Chinese people in unison are welcoming the cultural sunrise of the new century.

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前　　言

在中国古代文学园地里，除了诗词、小说和戏剧之外，还有散文。在中国传统的文学观念中，诗文一直被视作文学的正宗。散文也因其独特的魅力，千百年来长盛不衰。

我们现在所谓散文，是指区别于应用性文体，与诗歌、小说、戏剧并称的一种文学体裁，即不讲究韵律的散体文章，包括杂文、随笔、游记之类。古代散文的概念比较广泛，因为古代作家无论从事何种文体写作，都讲究文采；即便是章表书奏之类的应用文字，也往往讲究谋篇布局的精心结撰，力求遣词造句优美，文学色彩鲜明。因此，散文几乎成为诗词、小说和剧本之外的一切文章的写作形式。那些优美的散文，除了作家有意创作的文学散文之外，有的本来就是作为应用文写作的。中国的汉魏六朝是古代散文的重要发展时期，这一时期出现了众多的散文大家，许多优秀的散文作品流传至今，反复被阅读欣赏。这里我们先对这一时期散文发展的状况作一概述。

散文是中国最早出现的行文体例，殷墟出土的甲骨文是殷商晚期的占卜文书，可以看作是散体文章的萌芽。春秋时孔子删定“六经”，标志着古代散文的成型。战国时代，在群雄争霸的政治格局下，士人们纷纷投身于社会政治、文化生活中，形成了百家争鸣的局面。散文也由此得以勃兴，并进入了一个创作的黄金时期。汉魏六朝时期是中国古代散文重要的发展和转折时期。这一时期从西汉建国（公元前 206 年）起到南朝陈亡国（公元 589 年）止，长达 800 年之久。在这一漫长的历史时期，中国经历了从统一到分裂，复由分裂重归统一的过程，这是一个漫长的历史时期，也是一个社会极

其动荡的时代。"文变染乎世情，兴衰系乎时序"，文章写作与时代相呼应，这一时期的散文呈现出百花齐放、异彩纷呈的局面。

一、两汉散文的成就和特色

汉朝是在秦王朝的废墟上建立起来的，两汉的散文继承了先秦散文的传统，在史论文、史传文、应用文、政论文、说理文、辞赋等领域取得突出成就。

1. 史论文

汉初面临着接受亡秦的教训，在政治上改弦更张以求长治久安的问题。当时的政治家针对现实社会问题，以史为鉴，大胆表达自己的思想和主张，史论文便兴盛起来。贾谊是其中杰出的代表。贾谊的史论以《过秦论》尤为著名，文章的主旨在于批评秦朝施政方面的过失，为汉王朝统治者提供借鉴。全文长达三千多字，分上、中、下三篇。上篇叙秦国自孝公以后走向强盛的过程，运用夸张和渲染的手法，极言秦之强大无敌。然而这个统一了天下的强秦却在"揭竿"而起"斩木为兵"的农民的反抗下迅速瓦解，通过强弱悬殊而成败互异的强烈对比，有力地突出了论文的主旨。文中精辟分析了秦扫平六国完成统一及其迅速瓦解的原因，见解深刻，布局得法，气势充沛，语言畅达。这篇文章不仅在中国散文史上占有重要地位，它所表达的政治见解对汉王朝的施政方针也产生了深刻影响。文章喜用排比夸张，读起来尚有战国策士议论的雄风，说明当时史论之作远承着先秦策士论辩的余风。

2. 史传文

先秦时期，中国史学已经取得突出成就，先秦史学著作写人记事，富有浓厚的文学性。汉代的史学著作继承了这种

传统，又有新的创造。秦朝完成了全国的统一，汉朝才使这种统一的局面巩固下来。为了总结历史兴亡的经验教训，汉代史学家完成了《史记》、《汉书》两部巨著。《史记》是中国纪传体史学的奠基之作，同时也是中国传记文学的开端。在以记人为主的纪传、世家部分，司马迁笔下的人物个性鲜明，叙事曲折生动，文字间洋溢着作家强烈的爱憎情感。例如《项羽本纪》中写失败后自刎乌江的项羽，《陈涉世家》中写胸怀大志、废耕而叹的农民陈胜，《廉颇蔺相如列传》中通过完璧归赵、渑池之会和负荆请罪几个情节写廉蔺二人的为人，《刺客列传》中写荆轲刺秦王的壮举，《淮阴侯列传》中写韩信的忍辱负重，都把人物写得有血有肉。在为人物作传时，司马迁也寄托了个人的不幸遭遇，表达了对被侮辱、被损害者的同情。《史记》的语言丰富多彩，传神生动，历来受到称许，在史学和文学上都取得后人不可企及的成就，在中国古代散文史上蔚然成为一个高峰，被鲁迅称为“史家之绝唱，无韵之《离骚》”。班固与司马迁并称为“班马”，他的《汉书》是继《史记》之后又一部富有散文文学特色的史学巨著。《汉书》中人物传记严谨蕴藉，形象鲜明，文词华美，情感强烈。褚少孙是西汉时期杰出的文学家、史学家。他甚爱《史记》。司马迁死后，《史记》尚缺十篇未完。褚少孙历尽艰辛补缀了《史记》之缺，《滑稽列传》便是其中一部分。

3. 应用文

汉代应用性文体富有散文特色的主要是书翰和仪记，书翰即书牍、书信。用书信交流古已有之，汉代的书翰有向君王诸侯上书言事者，有朋友间互通音问交流情感者，也有亲人间互通音问者。前者如司马相如的《上书谏猎》。汉武帝迷恋驰猎，司马相如写了这篇谏猎书加以劝阻。由于行文委

婉，劝谏与奉承结合得体，武帝看了称“善”。私人间的书信，汉代流传下来的少数篇章都是作者在特殊情况下抒发强烈思想情感的作品，带有浓郁的抒情色彩。司马迁的《报任少卿书》、李陵的《答苏武书》、杨恽的《报孙会宗书》都是私人间的书信，历来脍炙人口，都可以看作抒情性散文名篇。《报任少卿书》是作者遭受宫刑的奇耻大辱之后写的，作者倾诉了自己为了完成《史记》，宁愿遭受宫刑未能就死，写得悲慨淋漓，气势酣畅。东汉桓帝时秦嘉与妻子徐淑的爱情故事因其寄答诗文而流传后世。秦嘉离开家乡陇西远赴洛阳时未能与妻面别，于是夫妇相互赠答，以诗书寄意。这些往还诗文，被评为“事既可伤，文亦凄怨”。其中四篇，叙谈日常生活之事，抒写离别之情，以从容舒缓之笔，写出夫妻间的一往情深。马第伯的《封禅仪记：泰山》中详细记叙了东汉光武帝（刘秀）建武三十二年（公元 56 年）封禅泰山活动的全部行程，让我们看到了皇帝出游的盛况，记载细致入微，读来历历在目，是现今所能见到的最早的游记类作品。

4. 政论文

政论文中最具代表性的就是臣子给皇帝的奏议书，即奏疏。汉代的政治家写的这种奏议书有的议论精辟，逻辑严密，文笔简练，朴实流畅，而且现实针对性很强。虽然没有华丽的辞藻，但切中肯綮，发人深省，传世不衰。晁错的《论贵粟疏》、《言兵事疏》是汉代奏疏的名篇。晁错是西汉文景时代的政论家，号称“智囊”。他的《论贵粟疏》强调重农备战，立论精辟，言辞激烈，雄辩有力，生动流畅。《言兵事疏》是一篇论兵法的文章，见解独到，有着深刻的历史依据和坚实的现实基础，具有较强的可行性和操作性。他的观点对汉朝

的边防巩固起到了重要作用，为历代军事思想家所借鉴。

5. 说理文

汉代的思想家继承了先秦时期思想家的文风，他们的学术著作往往写得形象生动，富有文学色彩，成为说理性很强的散文作品。西汉中叶刘安的《淮南子》是一部杂家著作，文章奇奥丰腴，笔法圆熟流畅，行文铺张扬厉。全书善用神话传说和寓言故事说理，写得生动形象。史载刘向著书上奏皇上，“上虽不能尽用，然内嘉其言，常嗟叹之”。刘向著述中经常使用寓言故事说理，有的采自民间传说，因此文学性很强。东汉前期，王充的《论衡》是一部哲学著作，语言朴直，论点突出，条理分明，辩驳有力。

6. 辞赋

汉代完全意义上的文学创作，除了诗歌之外，就是辞赋。辞赋是介于诗与散文之间的文体，曾被文论家视为汉代的代表性文学，与楚辞、唐诗、宋词、元曲相提并论。两汉辞赋盛行，经历了骚体赋、大赋、抒情小赋的演变。骚体赋从楚辞发展而来，形式上属于骚体。骚体赋大都是抒发怀才不遇的不平，首倡者是西汉初年的贾谊，代表作是贾谊的《吊屈原赋》，司马相如的《长门赋》等。《吊屈原赋》是借凭吊屈原来抒发个人哀怨的作品，表达了自己怀才不遇和遭受打击的悲愤。《长门赋》据说是受汉武帝失宠的陈皇后之托而写的，生动地描绘了一位被打入冷宫的后妃的寂寞处境和幽怨情怀。文章非常细致地刻画了她的内心活动，缠绵动人。据说汉武帝读此文后深受感动，恢复了对陈皇后的宠爱。散体大赋是汉代辞赋的代表，普遍采用主客问答的形式，作品篇幅巨大，文字铺排堆砌。这些大赋往往用大量的篇幅描写帝王或帝都的豪华奢侈，结尾用几句话表达对帝王的劝谏，被

批评为“劝百而讽一”，即劝谏的因素还没有鼓励的成分大。但这些大赋从内容上表现了汉王朝大一统的盛世气象，从形式上来说它铺张扬厉，气势恢宏，因此成为汉代有代表性的文学样式。枚乘的《七发》标志汉大赋正式形成。司马相如是最有代表性的作家，他以赋为文，铺张排比，显得苍劲雄浑，情文并茂，在大赋创作上独占鳌头。

东汉后期，社会黑暗，那种歌功颂德的长篇大赋渐渐式微，辞赋文学的内容开始转向针砭时弊表达不满等方面，篇幅也从长篇变为短制，文坛上流行起抒情小赋。张衡的《思玄赋》是汉末抒情小赋的代表作。《思玄赋》是流传下来的最早的一篇抒情小赋，在文体上有开创性。这是一篇寄托情志的作品，表达了作者对小人谗言害人的痛恨和自己忧谗畏讥的危惧心态。扬雄的《解嘲》虽然不以赋名篇，在体制上实为抒情赋作。文章设为问答，运用正话反说的方式，表达了自己的积郁不平。

总的来看，战国时期百家争鸣中涌现出的散文作品，感情激越，论辩性强，词藻华美，结构严谨，多用寓言，善用比喻，散文的基本形式已经确定。汉代继承了战国时期的散文传统，西汉散文质朴浑厚，语言天然无饰。同时，由于语言的发展，辞赋兴盛，人们对于文学的特征有更深入的认识，期间已有不少散文开始注重修辞，透露出西汉文风逐渐转变的信息。东汉文与西汉文相比，更加讲究结构严谨，语言富赡，句式工整，显得典雅庄重，表现出向魏晋南北朝散文过渡的倾向。

二、魏晋南北朝时期散文的成就和特色

在中国历史上，承接汉代的是魏晋南北朝时期。魏晋南

北朝被称为“文学的自觉时代”，这表现在人们对文学的特性有了比较明确的认识。南朝刘宋时设立四馆学，在儒学、玄学和史学之外，另立文学馆。这里的“文学”与我们今天的文学观念有别，但已经表现出人们把包括诗歌、散文之类的写作与其他学科相区别，这是文学成为独立学科的第一步。文学的价值受到重视，文学的地位提高了。魏朝的开国皇帝曹丕强调文章是“经国之大业，不朽之盛世”，把写诗作文看作经学之外安邦治国和成就功名的途径。作家开始有意识地从文学创作的角度进行写作，对于文章的要求更有了审美的追求。曹丕把所谓“文”分为八类，云：“奏议宜雅，书论宜理，铭诔尚实，诗赋欲丽”。陆机《文赋》则云：“诗缘情而绮靡，赋体物而浏亮”。针对轻视文章的观念，东晋葛洪说：“文章之于德行，犹十尺之于一丈，谓之余事，未之前闻。”这在很大程度上改变了儒家以德行为本而以文学为末的观念。在这样的背景下，散文的写作更加强调个人感情的自由表达，讲求文章的艺术形式和表现技巧，这是比之两汉散文来说魏晋南北朝时期散文明显的特色。六朝时期分文章为文、笔两大类。有韵者为文，无韵者为笔。这种文笔之分虽然并没有形成文学与非文学的自觉区分，但反映了人们对文学审美性、抒情性、娱乐性的体认，具有强化文学本质特性认识的理论倾向。

这一时期，传统的散体形式的文章仍有人写作，史传、说理、表奏、序记、书翰、游记文、小品文等等，都有名篇佳制。同时，文章辞赋化、骈俪化的倾向日益强烈，特别是西晋以后那种追求词藻华丽、对偶工整和音韵和谐的骈俪文几乎成为当时文人写作的一般风尚，这是一种影响久远的文坛新风气。

散文在体裁形式上的扩展也是引人注目的现象，南朝梁萧统编选先秦至梁的各体文章，取名《文选》，全书收录作品514题，700余篇。编排的标准是“凡次文之体，各以汇聚。诗赋体既不一，又以类分。类分之中，各以时代相次”。从分类来看，大致划分为赋、诗、杂文三大类。诗歌之外，一般都属于我们所谓“散文”之类。这样的分类体现了萧统对文体分类及源流的理论观点，反映了文体辨析进入了非常细致的阶段。在萧统《文选》收录的作品中，诗赋之外本来都属于应用性文体，但因为符合萧统的选文标准而入选。《文选》的选录标准是以“文”为本。考察《文选》的作品，可以知道是以“词人才子”的名篇为主的。凡经、史、子的著作一律不选，但是史传中的赞论序述部分却加以收录，因为“赞论之综辑辞采，序述之错比文华，事出于沉思，义归乎翰藻”，合乎其“能文”的选录标准。这一标准的着重点显然不在思想内容而在于讲究辞藻华美、声律和谐以及对偶工整、用事切当这样的艺术形式，但它为文学划定了范畴，是文学发展到一定阶段的结果，对文学的独立发展有促进作用。

1. 散文

在文学走向自觉的魏晋南北朝时期，涌现出一大批散文名家。汉末建安时期散文大多感情强烈，格调慷慨，文笔健美。汉魏之际曹氏父子、建安七子等人的诗文继承《诗经》、汉乐府优秀的现实主义创作传统，作品情感基调慷慨悲凉，语言自然流畅，成为后世推崇的榜样。曹操被称为“改造文章的祖师”，他的文章注重实用，反对浮华，清峻通脱，气魄峻伟，影响了一代文风。曹丕不仅有像《典论·论文》那样谈写作理论的论文，还有畅谈友情质朴畅达的散文作品。他写给吴质的两封信，有时谈诗论文，有时追叙旧游，亲切生

动。曹植是建安时期最受人们推崇的作家，他的散文《与杨德祖书》语句流畅，热情洋溢，见解深刻，充分展现了作者的志趣与抱负。

魏晋之际，阮籍、嵇康的文章对当时的黑暗现实多有嘲讽，前者含蓄，后者峻切。嵇康是魏晋之际散文的代表作家。他的《与山巨源绝交书》对社会黑暗进行猛烈抨击，表现出作者放荡不羁的性格和大胆立论的作风。由于社会动荡不安和政治迫害，当时的名士或借酒浇愁，或以酒避祸。刘伶的《酒德颂》反映了晋代文人佯狂放诞的心态，并借酒后狂言发泄对时政的不满。西晋作家注重散文的形式技巧，重视辞采、骈偶和用典。西晋时有一些写得真情动人的优秀散文。李密的《陈情表》是写给晋武帝辞官奉养祖母的奏章，文章叙述祖母抚育自己的深恩，在感谢朝廷知遇之恩的同时倾诉了自己不能从命的苦衷，真情流露，委婉动人。东晋文人清谈玄理，鉴赏山水，从自然中领悟人生，获得审美的乐趣。王羲之《兰亭集序》描写兰亭的地理形胜和山清水秀的春光美景，寄情抒怀，感慨万端，情景交融，韵味无穷。陶渊明的《桃花源记》生动描写了一个虚构的世外桃源的图景，寄托了作者的社会理想，文章写得脉络分明，笔调优美，叙述变化曲折，情节引人入胜。他的《与子俨等疏》虽沿袭前人“与子书”的训诫劝勉传统，却又展现出独特的个人风格，以叙说个人情怀志趣为主体，向儿子诉衷肠、吐心声，让人感到真实亲切。《自祭文》表达了对生死的达观态度，情感真挚，幽默生动。

南朝文人说理抒情，区分文笔，注意声律，讲究音韵铿锵、对仗工整、用事精严的骈文风行于世。但也有用散体写作很有成就的作家。刘宋时期范晔的《后汉书》序论内容丰富，

见解独到，笔势奔放，叙述简洁精练而生动形象，议论入木三分而充满深情，语言骈散结合而富有文采。南朝时模山范水的散文数量增加,吴均《与宋元思书》写景如画,首尾呼应,骈散相间，语言简练优美。北朝是北方草原民族占统治地位的时期，直到北魏推行汉化政策后，文学才渐渐有了生机。北朝出现了几部极富文学色彩的散文著作，其中北魏郦道元的《水经注》是一部水文地理学著作，记述了境内外大小河流一千多条，还细致地记述了各条河流流域的历史文化。这本书的文笔简洁精美，是一部别开生面的散文名著，被认为是先秦以来六朝游记文学的巅峰之作，对后世游记散文有很大的影响。书中描绘自然风光有声有色，绘声绘影，真切生动。《江水》对三峡的描绘是其中最为精彩的一个片断，逼真传神，意境优美，使人如历其境。

2. 骈俪文

骈俪文起源于汉魏，形成于南朝。这种文体讲求声韵之美，注重对偶之工，文章多为四字句和六字句，两两相对，句式非常整齐。在中国文赋发展的进程中，汉魏六朝文赋承前启后，开拓创新，对后代文学创作产生了深刻的影响。由于骈体文盛行，赋也演变为骈体赋，抒情和描写功能更强。抒情小赋篇幅短小，叙写简要，抒发人生感慨，情韵流溢，在短小的篇幅里，于四六句式之外，还杂有大量五七言诗句，以流宕的气势运用辞采，兼具形式美和情感美。魏晋南北朝时期，在从散体向骈体演变过程中，涌现出许多善写辞赋和骈俪文的作家，如祢衡、王粲、曹植、向秀、张华、谢惠连、鲍照、孔稚圭、丘迟、陶弘景、谢庄、江淹、庾信，都是一代名家。他们的作品对仗工整，用典贴切，声律和谐，词采华美，既严格遵守写作规范，又灵活自如地体物抒情，表现

出高超的写作技巧。祢衡的《鹦鹉赋》是一篇托物言志之作。赋中描写具有"奇姿"、"殊智"的鹦鹉，被"闭以雕笼，剪其翅羽"，失去自由，显然是以鹦鹉自况，抒写才智之士生于乱世的愤懑心情。此赋寓意深刻，状物维肖，感慨深沉，融咏物、抒情、刺世为一体，是建安时期小赋中的优秀之作。曹植的《洛神赋》在小赋中是篇幅较长的，其形象结构都远胜同类作品。魏晋之际值得称道的是向秀的《思旧赋》。这篇赋是为悼念好友嵇康之死而作，抒情凄恻隽永，寓意也相当曲折深刻。陆机的《文赋》本来是一篇文学理论文章，却写得词采华美，形象生动。

在南朝文学中，山水描写成为重要的题材，山水景物在进入诗境的同时，也被纳入骈体文的铺写中。南朝杰出的诗人鲍照是骈体文名家，也是抒情小赋的能手，最著名的作品是《芜城赋》。这篇赋写作者登高所见广陵的荒凉景色，想到广陵昔日的繁华，不由感慨万千，抒发了强烈的哀伤情绪。他的《登大雷岸与妹书》是一篇用骈文写作的给妹妹的书信，信中描绘了远行途中的山容水貌、朝霞夕晖和青霜紫霄的奇幻景色，表达了严霜寒风中去亲为客、苦于行役的凄怆心情，结尾则转为对妹妹的叮嘱与关切。宋齐之际，江淹的《恨赋》和《别赋》，可说是独具匠心的奇构。作者把这两种抽象的感情，通过各类具体的人事展现出来，一唱三叹，回肠荡气。齐梁时刘勰的《文心雕龙》是中国古代著名的文学理论著作，但却用骈体文形式写作，全书语言对仗工稳，声律和谐。北周庾信是六朝时期一位骈俪文的大家，他从南朝出使到北朝被留，满怀家国之思。他最著名的作品《哀江南赋》表现了他对故国的强烈思念，声情并茂，属对精工，用典灵活，文字华美，为历世传诵之名文。

3. 笔记体散文

从魏晋开始，玄学和佛学渗入文学，使文学呈现多姿多彩的新面貌。在儒家提倡文学的政治教化作用之外，玄学家提倡的真和自然，成为作家的美学追求；佛教关于真与空的观念、关于心性的观念、关于境界的观念，也促进了文学观念的多样化。魏晋南北朝的笔记体散文谐趣隽永，具有独特的艺术魅力。西晋干宝的《搜神记》是这方面的代表作。《搜神记》故事来源广泛，保存了不少优秀的民间故事和神话传说，有的情节曲折生动，显示出小说创作的萌芽。《李寄斩蛇》就是其中比较典型的一篇。

三、汉魏六朝时期散文的海外传播

中国古代优秀的散文作品，引起海内外专家学者的关注，因此很早就有人把它介绍到国外。从英文翻译来看，1883 年，英国汉学家翟理斯就自费印刷了一本《古文选珍》，书中“翻译了不同时期中国著名散文作家的‘优雅的’散文‘片断’，所有翻译均为首次翻译”。1923 年，在修订和增补第一版《古文选珍》和《古今诗选》的基础上，他完成了第二版《古文选珍》的编选，分作散文卷和诗歌卷。《古文选珍》基本上按照中国历史朝代进行划分，散文卷节译和选译了老子、孔子、屈原、庄子、宋玉、孟子、荀子、韩非子、司马迁、晁错、王充、柳宗元、刘禹锡、白居易、司马光、苏东坡、王安石、袁枚、曾国藩、谭嗣同、梁启超等 89 位作家的 186 篇作品。1901 年翟氏编写的《中国文学史》（*A History of Chinese Literature*）第一次以文学史的形式，向英国读者展现了中国文学的悠久发展历程，其中也包括对中国古代散文的介绍。此后国内外不少学者从事了将中国古代散文进行翻译介绍的

工作。

根据作者在文章内使用的表达方式，我们可以把散文分为抒情散文、记叙散文和议论散文。汉魏六朝议论文的作者主要是哲学家、政治家，他们中的佼佼者及其代表作已被介绍给英语世界的读者。像贾谊、刘安、王充以及嵇康等人及其著作就是如此。嵇康作品的译介曾使韩禄伯蜚声美国汉学界。1983 年，普林斯顿大学出版社出版了韩禄伯的《三世纪中国的哲学与论辩：嵇康的论文》，这是嵇康全部 13 篇论文的第一部也是唯一的一部英文注译本。汉魏六朝记叙文的作者主要是历史学家、地理学家，像司马迁、刘向、班固、范晔、郦道元等，他们的名字对英语世界的读者已不陌生。司马迁《史记》的选译本，我们知道的有：卜德的《中国古代政治家、爱国者与将军：〈史记〉秦朝人物传记三种》（1940 年），注译了吕不韦、荆轲、蒙恬等三人的传记；华兹生的《史记》（1961 年）选译本，分为汉初、武帝时代两卷；克尔曼的《从四种战国后期人物传记看司马迁的史学态度》（1962 年），注译了《乐毅传》、《廉颇蔺相如列传》、《田单传》和《鲁仲连传》；华兹生的《史记选》（1969 年）；杜为廉与斯哥特的《散文大师司马迁笔下的军阀与其他人物》（1974 年）选译了东周部分，分为兵家、军阀、刺客、弄臣四组；杨宪益、戴乃迭的《史记选》（1974 年）；华兹生的《史记》（1993 年）选译本，包括秦、汉两个时期的内容。《史记》之外，班固的《汉书》有德效骞的《〈汉书〉选译》（1938 年）、华兹生的《中国古代臣民：班固〈汉书〉选译》（1974 年）等。关于刘宋范晔《后汉书》的论著有毕汉思的《汉室中兴》（1953 年）；选译本有格雷戈里·杨的《东汉三将军》（1984 年），选译了第六十五卷的皇甫规、张奂、段颎等三人的传记。北魏郦道

元的《水经注》有甘宁宁的注译本（1981 年）。

英语世界的学者们对汉魏六朝记叙文的文学性比对同期的议论文更为关心，他们关注的主要问题集中在史传的叙事风格、史传的虚构性、史传与纯文学的关系等方面。杜为廉与斯哥特认为，司马迁《史记》原文的风格是绚丽多彩的，有时动若野马，有时静若处女，在紧张的情节里行文急促，在叙述错综复杂的事件时则像变戏法那样左盼右顾，多方照应。他的笔下没有一个词是多余的，几乎一切东西早晚都要和故事题旨联系上。华兹生选译《汉书》，面向那些希望了解《汉书》文学性与考察史家一般方式方法的读者。他认为《汉书》以其风格的简约著称，但这种简约有时是以暧昧、晦涩为代价取得的。还有不少学者看到了史传中的虚构性，如卜德指出《史记》的荆轲传记里的某些话语不可能为真，仅仅是为了补充基本事实而添上的文学花絮。对史传中的这种虚构性历来评价不一，有人赞成，有人批评。如杜志豪赞叹，由于史家的生花妙笔，方士成为维妙维肖的文学形象。毕汉思则认为《后汉书》收入了数量可观的第二手材料，那些对话、轶事、戏剧性的说明大多出于作者的主观想象，没有什么历史价值。史传、地理著作和纯文学的关系也是学者们感兴趣的问题。甘宁宁在译析《水经注》时，论述了中国地理学著作的文学质素。

在议论文、记叙文之外，理当有与之鼎足而立的抒情类文章。汉魏六朝时期抒情性的散文有不少精品传世，遗憾的是这方面的作品未获得足够的重视和介绍。陶渊明的散文作品可谓是其中的特例，方重的《陶渊明诗文选译》（1980 年）翻译了他的散文。对魏晋南北朝时期散文理论著作的专门研究比较少，不能不说是一个缺憾。多少沾点边的是顾传习的

译注《苏绰传》(1953 年)。他在导言里引述了刘知幾、司马光、叶适等中国学者对苏绰的评价，为西方汉学家未表现出对苏绰的关心感到遗憾。应该说明的是，曹丕、陆机等人的文体论均包含了散文论，他们的著作已经译介到英语世界，可弥补这方面的不足。美国当代汉学家康达维侧重汉魏六朝文学研究，尤以辞赋研究最为著名。他的《扬雄赋研究》、《扬雄传》对汉代大赋代表作家扬雄做了专题研究。特别值得称道的是，经过长期的潜心研究，他把《文选》这部最早产生又影响最大的诗文总集译介给了英语读者。伊维德与汉乐逸合作出版了《中国文学指南》，对中国 3000 年的文学史进行了全面描述，各类文学体裁都在恰当的时期分段内详加论述。宇文所安的《诺顿中国文学作品选》中也对中国古代文学史各个阶段的特点及其代表作有所叙述和反映。其他文集如《含英咀华集》等对各个时期的文学体裁、代表作家作品等也有较为全面的论述，在汉学界有相当大的影响。

四、本书编选说明

外语教学与研究出版社的编辑们，在综合专家意见的基础上，确定了本书的汉语篇目。之后他们对中国古代散文的英译资料进行了地毯式的搜索，并从搜集到的上百种相关图书、杂志、论文中发现，经过海内外专家学者们多年来的努力，被介绍翻译到英语世界的中国古代散文数量相当可观，有些作品的译文多达十一二个版本。他们通过精心的比较筛选，选取了数十篇具有较高翻译水平的英文译本，供读者欣赏。其中有各时期著名汉学家的译作，也有中国本土顶级英译者的译文。为了尽量保持译作的原貌，除了个别明显错误之处，基本未对译文作任何改动。在汉语原文版本的选择上，

如果译作为英汉对照版本，本书直接选取了译者参照的汉语文本；无英汉对照的版本则选取传世的善本版本，并与译本逐字逐句进行参看。在具体编排上，本书的正文部分按朝代顺序编排，每一个朝代则以作者的生卒年代为序；各作者的作品排序，有确切创作年代的篇目按时间顺序排列，无确切年代记载的则以音序排列，以期呈现汉魏六朝文清晰的发展脉络。编者自知，虽殚精竭虑，遗误在所难免，恳请广大读者不吝赐教。由于各种条件的限制，出版社无法与每位译者进行联系，因此将所有选篇的版权事宜委托中国新闻出版总署版权代理中心全权负责，请本书涉及的译者与该中心取得联系。

Foreword

Ancient China boasted a treasury of poetry, fiction, drama and prose. While poetry is traditionally seen as the orthodox Chinese literature, prose, with its unique charm, has enjoyed never-failing glory over the centuries.

By its modern definition, prose refers to a literary genre that is non-practical and non-rhymed, including essays, casual literary notes and travel notes. Ancient prose literature covered a far wider scope, encompassing virtually all writings other than poetry, fiction and drama, including memorials, letters and other practical writings that were well organized and gracefully worded. As a matter of fact, aside from those produced out of pure literary inspiration, many of the oft-cited articles were written for practical purposes. The Han, Wei and Six Dynasties was a major period for ancient prose literature, producing a good many renowned prose writers and writings that have been widely read and re-read down the generations. The following is an overview of the prose literature of this period.

Prose is the earliest writing form in China. The scripts on divination oracle bones unearthed in the Yin dynasty ruins can be regarded as the embryo of ancient prose literature in China. The revision and finalization of the six classics by Confucius marked the formal establishment of this literary genre. In the Warring States period (475-221 BC) when China was in a state of political contention, scholars poured their passion into social, political and cultural life. This resulted in the "contention of the one hundred schools of thought," and prose, as a form of expression, entered its prime. With various schools of thinkers being formed, China

entered a golden age of prose writing. The Han, Wei and Six Dynasties registered major development and transition of this form of writing. The 800 years between the establishment of the Former Han dynasty (206 BC) to the fall of the state of Chen (AD 589) recorded China's unification-split-unification process, a process that was marked by extreme social tribulation. As writing is often evocative of the time, the prose writing in this period was as diversified and flourishing as the hundred schools of thought.

I. Prose Literature of the Han Dynasty

Built on the ruins of the Qin dynasty, the Han dynasty inherited the tradition of prose literature of its predecessor, and made remarkable achievements in fields such as historical critiques, historical records, practical essays, political critiques, reasoning essays and rhapsodies.

i. Historical Critiques

The fall of Qin necessitated an overhaul of the old administration for the Han rulers to maintain a long-lasting and peaceful regime. In view of existing social problems and drawing lessons from the past, politicians boldly voiced their thoughts and proposals, which contributed to the boom of political critiques. A representative of this form of writing, Jia Yi is best known for his "On the Cause of Ruin of the Qin Empire." As its title suggests, the article centers on the administrative defects of the Qin dynasty as a lesson for the Han rulers. The text of 3,000 or so characters is divided into three parts. In extreme exaggeration, the first part plays up the formidable strength and prosperity of the state of Qin after the reform by Duke Xiao. However, such a powerful state that unified all China would be overthrown by a band of stick-armed peasants. The theme of this article is

successfully highlighted in this sharp contrast. Well-organized in structure, profuse in vigor, and smooth in wording, the article provides an incisive analysis of Qin's short-lived success. A masterpiece of Chinese prose literature, its political insights had far-reaching influence on the Han administration. The frequent use of parallelism and exaggeration smacks of a Warring States counselor, enough to show the influence of the pre-Qin style on this period.

ii. Historical Records

Historiography had already made great headway in the pre-Qin period. People and events in the historical works in this period were imbued with literary flavor. Although keeping to this tradition, Han historians injected fresh elements to those of their predecessors. With a view to drawing lessons from the rise and fall of the former dynasties, Han-dynasty historians completed *Shi Ji* or *Records of the Grand Historian* and *Han Shu* or *History of the Former Han Dynasty*.

A landmark of China's biographic historiography, *Shi Ji* or *Records of the Grand Historian* also marks thc beginning of biographical literature in China. The people cited in "Biographies" and "Hereditary Houses" all have a distinct character, and the events described are full of twists and turns. Permeating through the lines are the author's passions. Among the many impressive figures are Xiang Yu, the courageous King of Chu who, defeated by the army of Liu Bang, would rather cut his own throat and die than cross the river to rule part of the country; Chen Sheng, a peasant with lofty ideals; Lin Xiangru, a politician and Lian Po, a general who served the King of Zhao and whose courage and integrity are still widely applauded; Jing Ke, a tragic hero who swore to assassinate Qin Shihuang (the First Emperor of Qin)

but was killed after a fierce fight; and Han Xin, who was born in destitution and had his fill of humiliation in childhood, but endured all and became Marquis of Huaiyin. The wretched fate of the biographical subjects echoes that of the biographer to a degree, as indicated in the deep sympathy he feels for the bullied and injured. Exuberant in language and lively in description, *Shi Ji* or *Records of the Grand Historian* has since been acclaimed as an unsurpassed achievement both in historiography and literature. A pinnacle in classical prose literature in China, it was, to cite Lu Xun, "the swan song of historiography and Qu Yuan's *Lament* without rhymes." A lover of *Shi Ji* and a litterateur and historian himself, Chu Shaosun completed the last ten pieces that Sima Qian left unfinished, among which "Ximen Bao's Judicious Administration of Ye County" is most familiar to Chinese readers.

Mentioned in the same breath with Sima Qian as "Ban Ma," Ban Gu produced *Han Shu* or *Records of the Former Han Dynasty*, another masterpiece of historiography with the appeal of prose literature. Its combination of refined delineation, vivid characterization, lively language and rich emotions endows it with a literary value no slighter than that of *Shi Ji* or *Records of the Grand Historian*.

iii. Practical Essays

Han-dynasty practical writings with prose characteristics mainly include letters and records. An age-old means of communication, the letter was used by people of the Han dynasty to report to their masters, or to extend greetings to friends or family members. For example, Sima Xiangru wrote "Against Hunting" to Han Emperor Wu (140-87 BC), advising him not to be obsessed with hunting. The letter, tactfully seasoning persuasion with flattery, was praised by the emperor as "good."

The few personal letters that still survive are lyric articulations of the writers' strong emotions under specific circumstances. The most widely read include "Letter to Jen An (Shao-ch'ing)" by Sima Qian, "A Reply" by Li Ling, and "Letter to Sun Hui-tsung" by Yang Yun. Despondent after the humiliation of castration, Sima Qian wrote "Letter to Jen An (Shao-ch'ing)," recounting what humiliation he endured through for the sake of *Shi Ji*. Seeping through the lines are sorrow, indignation and vigor, arousing fellow-feeling in the readers. Qin Jia and his wife Xu Shu are best remembered for their correspondence. During the reign of Han Emperor Huan (AD 147-167), Qin Jia was appointed a post in distant Luoyang. He left his hometown without a farewell to his wife, so the two communicated through letters. The letters included in this selection recount what they did and thought in daily life. Embedded in the gentle tone and smooth tempo of these letters are the deep affection and sweet sadness of the loving couple. "The Supreme Mountain" from *A Record of the Feng and Shan Sacrifices* by Ma Dibo describes at length the pomp and pageantry of Emperor Guangwu's excursion to Mount Tai (AD 56) and records the whole process of the worship ceremony. It is the earliest travel writing in China.

iv. Political Critiques

The most representative of political critiques are memorials, which refer to letters addressed to emperors by their officials. Incisive in argument, strict in logic, and smooth in wording, memorials of the Han dynasty were pertinent and thought-provoking. Despite their plain language, they have come down through generations as classic political critiques. Chao Cuo's "On the Value of Agriculture" and "On War" are masterpieces of this kind. A "font of wisdom" during the reign of the Han emperors

Wen and Jing, Chao Cuo wrote "On the Value of Agriculture" to call for attention to agriculture. The argument is pointed and persuasive, and the language vivid and smooth. His "On War" contains unique insights grounded on solid evidence from past to current times, and were instrumental in strengthening the Han dynasty's border defenses and often cited by military thinkers throughout history.

v. Reasoning Essays

With style inherited from the pre-Qin period, academic works by Han-dynasty thinkers were vivid prose works written for reasoning purposes. Liu An's *Huai Nan Zi* is a miscellaneous collection of essays that are rich and profound in meaning, skilled in technique, and lavish in wording. The author was good at interpreting his points through legends and parables. Legend has it that after reading one memorial from Liu An, the emperor "acclaimed it to be very reasonable and that he could not forget those words, though not all could be adopted as ruling strategies." The parables and legends cited by the author made his reasoning immensely literary. Wang Chong's philosophical work *Lun Heng* (*On Balance*) written in the early Former Han dynasty is well known for its clear-cut stance, straight language, well-planned organization, thorough analysis and forceful argumentation.

vi. Rhapsodies

Besides poetry, rhapsody was the only literary creation in the genuine sense of the term in the Han dynasty. Partly poetry and partly prose, it is considered by literary critics as the representative of Han literature, equal in stature to Chu lyrics, Tang poetry, Song lyrics and Yuan drama. Han rhapsodies evolved through three stages: the lament-style rhapsodies, long rhapsodies and short rhapsodies.

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Developed from Chu Ci, the lament-style rhapsodies were in the form of *Sao*, most of which expressed the anger and sorrow of an undiseovered talent. Two representative works are "Lament for Ch'ü Yüan" by Jia Yi and "Tall Gate Palace" by Sima Xiangru. In his lament Jia Yi bemoans his own misfortune and indignation for his unused talent and undeserved treatment. "Tall Gate Palace" was said to be written at the behest of Empress Ch'en, who had lost the favor of Emperor Wu. The loneliness and bitterness of the emprcss, out of favor and in limbo, were so touchingly represented through minute depiction of her inner world that, it was said, the emperor was moved to favor her anew.

Long rhapsodies are typical of Han-dynasty rhapsodies. They generally take the form of questions and answers and are of eonsiderable length. They tend toward fulsome deseriptions of the luxurious life of emperors or of the super-grand capital, and come to an abrupt stop with a few words of exhortation. Henee they were criticized as being more flattery than exhortative. But this very pomp and pageantry was characteristie of Han-dynasty literature. "The Seven Stimuli" by Mei Sheng markcd thc establishment of the Han-dynasty long rhapsody, whose most famous exponent was Sima Xiangru, a prolific writer known for his expressive and compclling writing in whieh parallelism and exaggeration play a major part.

In the declining period of the Later Han dynasty, as society plunged into chaos and darkness, exultant long rhapsodies gradually gave way to short rhapsodics that ccnsured the flaws of the age. "Rhapsody on Contemplating the Mystery" by Zhang Heng is a representative of short lyrical rhapsody of the late Han dynasty. The earliest of its kind, it conveys the author's hatred and fear for the slander of lesscr men. "Dissolving Ridieule" by

Yang Xiong, in sentiment and literary fabric is virtually a piece of rhapsody even if it does not bear that name. In question and answer form, the author ironically expresses his frustration and indignation about the age.

Generally speaking, in the Warring States period, when various schools of thought were formed and the "prose" genre was primarily established, prose works of the time were characterized by passion and eloquence, luxurious wording and well-organized structure, fables and metaphors. When it came to the Han dynasty, prose pieces were simple and natural in language use but deep in meaning. Meanwhile, due to language evolution and the flourishing of the rhapsody form, people's understanding of literature went deeper. Writers began to employ figures of speech to improve the literary quality of their prose, a bellwether showing the change in literary tendencies. Compared to their Later Han predecessors, Former Han writers paid more attention to neat structure and diversified expression, which gave their writings greater solemnity and elegance, a feature that was passed down to the prose of Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties.

II. Prose of Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties (AD 220-589)

As a transitional period between the Han (206 BC-AD 220) and Sui (AD 581-618) dynasties, the period of the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties is called "a time of self-conscious literature," meaning that its intellectuals were forming a clear understanding of the nature of literature. In Song (AD 420-479) of the Southern Dynasties, the academy of literature was established as a new official institution, enjoying equal status with

those of Confucianism, metaphysics and historiography as one of the four essentials. Their concept of "literature" was somewhat different from that of modern times, but it is worth noting that poetry and prose began to be distinguished from other disciplines, marking literature's first step toward becoming an independent discipline. The value of literature was further recognized when Cao Pi (founder of the Wei kingdom AD 220-265) stressed that "Literature is no less noble an activity than the governing of a state; it is also a way to immortality" (cited from "On Literature") and regarded it also as an approach to state administration and personal fame, beside the traditional idea about studying the classics proper. And the conscious aesthetic pursuit went further because of writers writing for the sake of literature itself. For example, Cao Pi classified writings into eight categories: "Official memorials and discourses on state matters should be formally elegant; letters and essays should be orderly; elegiac and other inscriptions should be reliably factual; poetry and rhapsodies should be ornate"(cited from "On Literature"). In his "Prose Poem on the Art of Letters," Lu Ji said, "Lyrical poems are the outcome of emotion and should be subtle elaborations; prose poems [*fu*] are each the embodiment of an object and so should be transparently clear." To those who looked down upon writings, Ge Hong said, "writings are as important as virtues." This view was a departure from the traditional Confucian notion that virtues were fundamental whereas writings were insignificant. In such a case, writers were encouraged to voice their personal emotions and use artistic forms and techniques more than ever before. In the Southern and Northern Dynasties, writings were classified into two large categories, rhymed and non-rhymed. Though this classification did not help to separate literature

from non-literature, as regards belles-lettres it meant that the literary consciousness had marched a step forward, in that literary qualities such as aesthetics, expressiveness and entertainment had been recognized.

This period produced some excellent examples of traditional prose, including historical records, reasoning essays, memorials, prefaces and notes, letters, travelogues, and so-called "familiar" essays. At the same time, there emerged a strong inclination to parallel prose and rhapsodies. Especially when it came to the Western Jin (AD 265-317), it became fashionable to write parallel prose characterized by luxurious words, strict antithesis and harmonious rhymes, a vogue that exerted a far-reaching influence on China's literary circle.

Prose forms were also quite conspicuously extended. In Liang (AD 502-557) of the Southern Dynasties, Xiao Tong selected over 700 writings on 514 subjects from the pre-Qin period to his own time, and named it *Wen Xuan* (*Selections of Refined Literature*). He classified these writings into three general sections: poems, rhapsodies and essays, the latter two of which fall into the prose category in our modern sense. Such a categorization, by the way, was a manifesto of his theoretical ideas about the origin and specific classification of genres, as well as the meticulous differentiation of the genres concerned. Within each category, they were arranged in chronological order. His selection criterion was "literary quality." Practical writings beyond poetry and rhapsodies should not have been included, but so as to conform to the above-mentioned standard, commending remarks of historical or biographical files were somehow selected as exceptions. He chose no Confucian classics, historical records or scriptures of any school of thinkers; instead, his selections were

mostly famous pieces by literary talents, weighted more toward sophisticated vocabulary, strict antithesis and harmonious rhymes rather than to ideological content. His selection standard defined the scope of literature, marked a certain development stage, and promoted its evolution into an independent discipline.

i. Prose

As a "self-conscious" period of literature, the period of the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties produced a large number of great prose writers, as among them Cao Cao, his son Cao Pi, the Seven Talents of Jian'an Time (AD 196-220) and many others who inherited the realistic and creative style of *Shi Jing* (*Book of Songs*) and the *Yuefu* songs of the Han dynasty and output a great many fervent, impassioned and fluent pieces. Their works, with a general tone of sadness, a style of boldness and ambitiousness, and a natural flow of words, were regarded as models by subsequent generations. Cao Cao, regarded as "Forefather of Literary Reform," abandoned superficiality and advocated practical use. His writings, succinct and unconventional, imposing and ambitious, influenced the literary style of an entire generation. His son Cao Pi not only wrote reasoning essays such as "On Literature," but had a great interest in sentimental essays. In his letters to Wu Zhi, he recalled the good old days with his friends or talk about poetry and prose. His younger brother, Cao Zhi, was the most acclaimed writer of the Jian'an time. In his "Letter to Yang Dezu," readers can feel passion and zeal reflected in his fluent sentences, as well as passionate aspiration and strong interest accompanied by thorough analysis.

Wei and Jin saw many writers criticizing dark realities, among whom Ruan Ji (the mild) and Ji Kang (the stringent)

were most famous. Ji Kang, in particular, is regarded as the representative of this transitional period in history. Using open and bold remarks in his "Letter to Shan T'ao," the unconventional and unconstrained Ji Kang fearlessly loosed his criticism or even attacks on social corruption. It was a time that social unrest and political prosecution forced many intellectuals to take to liquor as a "dark and sweet dream place" with no worries or as a refuge from cold reality. "The Genius of Wine" was produced against this background. By cursing the current authorities through the mouth of a drunkard, the author displays his bitter helplessness, a mentality generally shared by the intellectuals of that time. Writers of Western Jin paid more attention to structures and techniques, as well as figures of speech, parallelism and allusions. This period produced some excellent prose works that have touched many readers. "A Pleading Memorial" by Li Mi was one of them. It was written to Emperor Wu of the Jin regime, applying to resign from his post in order to return home and take care of his old grandmother. By expressing his gratitude to both his grandmother who brought him up and to the emperor who trusted his ability and assigned him an important post, the writer, with deep affection, movingly tells the supposed readership why he had to choose to take care of his grandmother. When it came to Eastern Jin (AD 317-420), intellectuals turned their attention to metaphysics and meditation on the meaning of life while relaxing in the natural world and enjoying the beauty in the landscape of mountains and waters. "Lan Ting Ji Xu" ("A Sketch of the Gathering at Orchid Arbor") by Wang Xizhi describes the geographical wonder and the beautiful spring of Orchid Arbor, and expresses the writer's multifarious feelings and exclamations. As a work that melds emotions into nature, it leaves

an everlasting appeal to many readers. Tao Yuanming was another famous poet and prose writer of this period. To express his social ideal, by clear and logical presentation, graceful wording, elaborate narration, complicated and ingenious plotting, Tao in "The Peach-blossom Fountain" creates a utopia at the end of the peach woods, where women and men, young or elderly, live in harmony with each other and with the natural world around. His "To My Sons, Yen and the Others" shows his deep love for his sons while strictly exhorting them to be virtuous men. Apart from modeling the traditional form of similar works, this piece exhibits Tao's unique personal style, one that focuses mainly on personal sentiments and aspirations by speaking his mind to his sons in person. "Requiem for Myself" sincerely and humorously expresses Tao's optimistic attitude toward life and death.

Whether to express feelings or to expound an argument, writers of the Southern Dynasties favored sonorous rhythm, exquisite antithesis as well as strict and refined structure. However, there were some writers who earned their fame for prose writing. The prelude of *Hou Han Shu* (*History of the Later Han Dynasty*) by Fan Ye is widely known for its rich context, original ideas and wild use of language. In narration, it is concise and full of vivid images; in argument, it is exhaustive and touching; and in analysis, extraordinary and convincing. "A Letter to Song Yuansi" by Wu Jun has brilliant, concise and semi-parallel-styled language as well as a perfect ending that echoes its beginning. The reading experience is like that of enjoying a painting, reminding readers of beautiful landscapes. In the Northern Dynasties (AD 386-581), under the rule of nomadic people from the northern steppe lands, literature virtually stagnated until the time of the Northern Wei whose authorities implemented a policy of learning and adopting

the language and culture of the ethnic Han. This period produced several prose pieces abundant with literary grace, such as the great hydrographic work *Commentary on the "Waterways Classic"*, which records with fascinating descriptions over a thousand rivers and brooks at home and abroad as well as historical and cultural details of their basin areas. In particular "The Three Gorges," one of the most brilliant pieces, describes a vivid, breath-taking and panoramic view of the Yangtze River that gives the reader a vicarious experience. This trail-blazing book, successful both in terms of literary refinement and practical concision, is regarded as the top work of travel literature since the pre-Qin period and exerted great influence on the travelogue style of later generations.

ii. Parallel Prose

Parallel prose originated from Han and Wei and was established as a formal style in the Southern Dynasties. It was written in four-character or six-character couplets, and had strict demands on rhyme, rhythm and antithesis. As seen in historical retrospect of all Chinese rhapsodies, prose writers of Han, Wei, Southern and Northern Dynasties not only inherited the excellent tradition of the previous periods, but also had far-reaching influence on the later ones due to their creative and trail-blazing efforts. Due to the overwhelming popularity of parallel prose, rhapsodies gradually evolved into parallel structures too, more powerful in description and expression of feelings. Short rhapsodies in particular, with their adept mixture of five- and seven-character stanzas within four- or six-character mainframe lines, display concise heart-pouring and imposing formal beauty. From the Wei to the Northern Dynasties, with the progressive evolution of prose forms, there appeared many great writers who

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were masters of rhapsodic and parallel prose forms, such as Mi Heng, Wang Can, Cao Zhi, Xiang Xiu, and a dozen more. Apart from salient antithesis, apt allusion, exacting word choice and musical rhythm in their works, they were notably free to describe objects and express feelings without breaking the writing rules, which exhibited their superb techniques and talents.

The metaphorical "Rhapsody on the Parrot" by Mi Heng describes a parrot of "wondrous form" and "distinct in wisdom," that is "Shut in an ornately carved cage, / With its wing feathers clipped." Obviously, the parrot is a metaphor for the gloomy author himself, born with talent but into a time of chaos. Its thought-provoking implication, vivid description and successful combination of irony, metaphor and satire on the time makes this emotional piece one of the most excellent short rhapsodies of the Jian'an time. "The Goddess of the Luo" by Cao Zhi is outstanding among similar short works in terms of imagery and structure. Though longer than its shorter counterparts, it is still considered as a short rhapsody. "Recalling Old Times: A Rhapsody" by Xiang Xiu is another commendable rhapsody during the transitional period between Wei and Jin. Written to lament over the death of his old friend Ji Kang, it has moved many readers for its deep sadness and associations. "Prose Poem on the Art of Letters" by Lu Ji reads as graceful and lively as a literary work full of vivid depictions, though it is a piece of literary criticism by nature.

In the Southern Dynasties, mountains and waters became important subjects of poetry and parallel prose. Bao Zhao was a poet as well as a famous writer of parallel prose and short rhapsodies. His "The Desolate City" stands out among other works. In this rhapsody, the author, overlooking Guangling, cannot help grieving over the bleak view before him, especially

when recalling its past prosperity. In his parallel prose "Letter to My Younger Sister upon Ascending the Bank of Thunder Lake," Bao Zhao describes the breath-taking views experienced during his long journey, where green mountains and blue waters are shrouded by clouds dyed pink by sunset or enveloped in purple fog and white frost in the morning. The scenery is magnificent, but the traveler sad, far from home and enduring chill and loneliness. The letter ends with his deep concern and regards to his sister.

Jiang Yan's two famous rhapsodies "On Resentment" and "On Separation" drive home two abstract human sentiments through tangible events and figures. This unique ideation, together with many exclamations, makes the two works resemble heroic odes.

One of the most splendid literary critiques in ancient China, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* by Liu Xie is written in parallel prose with beautiful rhymes and rhythms. Yu Xin, another great parallel prose writer, originally served the Liang administration but was detained in the north when serving there as an ambassador. "The Lament for the South" conveys the writer's nostalgic yearning for his country and hometown. Strict antithesis, free use of allusions and gorgeous words make it so infectious and catchy that it has been widely spread and recited for centuries.

iii. Documentary Prose

In the Wei and Jin dynasties, metaphysics and Buddhism began penetrating into literary works. Unlike the Confucian school who advocated the political and educational functions of literature, metaphysicians valued "authenticity" and "naturalness," and this became an aesthetical standard pursued by many writers

in this period. Many notions of Buddhism, such as "realness," "emptiness," "nature of the mind" and "realm," were also introduced into literature and contributed to the diversity of literary concepts. The documentary prose in this period is at once humorous and meaningful, of unique artistic appeal. Gan Bao's *Records of Spirits* in the Western Jin dynasty is a representative of this kind of work. It brings together a wide range of folk tales and legends with intriguing plots, such as "Li Ji, the Serpent Slayer." This book can be regarded as an embryonic novel, another important literary style that matured in later dynasties.

III. Spread of the Prose Overseas

The great works of ancient China very early started to attract the attention of scholars beyond Chinese shores and efforts to translate into English were not long coming. We should first mention Herbert A. Giles' who, in 1883, had printed at his own expense *Gems of Chinese Literature*, a collection including prose from China's most famous writers down the ages. In April 1884, a highly favorable review of this book was published in *Pioneer*, a Far-Eastern newspaper: "English readers will search in vain for any work leading to an acquaintanceship, however slight, with the general literature of China. Dr. Legge's colossal labors have indeed placed the canonical books of Confucianism within easy reach of the curious; but the immense bulk of Chinese authorship is still virgin soil and remains to be efficiently explored. The recently published *Gems of Chinese Literature* certainly removes this regret." In 1923, the second edition of *Gems of Chinese Literature* appeared in two volumes: prose and poetry. *Gems of Chinese Literature* is categorized according to the order of the Chinese dynastics. It is a translation of 186 selected essays or just excerpts by 89 writers including Lao Zi, Confucius, Qu Yuan,

Zhuang Zi, Song Yu, Mencius, Xun Zi, Han Feizi, Sima Qian, Chao Cuo, Wang Chong, Liu Zongyuan, Liu Yuxi, Bai Juyi, Sima Guang, Su Dongpo, Wang Anshi, Yuan Mei, Zeng Guofan, Tan Sitong, Liang Qichao, etc. In 1901, Giles compiled the book *A History of Chinese Literature* with presentation of Chinese prose included as well, acquainting the English readers with the long development process of the Chinese literature for the first time in the form of literary history. Since then, many scholars both at home and abroad have been engaged in the translation and promotion work of Chinese prose.

In light of different styles, prose can be classified into three types: expressive essays, narrative essays and reasoning essays. Reasoning essays of this period are mainly by the hand of philosophers and statesmen such as Jia Yi, Liu An, Wang Chong and Ji Kang, some of whose outstanding works have been introduced to English readers. Robert Henricks, an American sinologist, is noted for his *Philosophy and Argumentation in Third Century China: The Essays of Hsi K'ang*, published in 1983 by Princeton University Press. This is the first and the only annotated translation that includes Ji Kang's (Hsi K'ang's) total 13 essays.

Writers of narrative essays of this period were mainly historians and geographers, and English readers are already familiar with, among others, Sima Qian, Liu Xiang, Ban Gu, Fan Ye, and Li Daoyuan. The selected translations of Sima Qian's *Shi Ji* alone include: the 1940 *Statesman, Patriot, and General in Ancient China: Three "Shih Chi" Biographies of the Ch'in Dynasty (221-206 BC)*, with the biographies of Lü Buwei, Jing Ke and Meng Tian translated and annotated by Derk Bodde; the 1961 *Records of the Great Historian of China* translated by Burton Watson in two volumes: early years of the Han dynasty and the

reign of Emperor Wu; the 1962 *Ssu-ma Chien's Historiographical Attitude as Reflected in Four Late Warring States Biographies* by Frank A. Kierman Jr., with translated and annotated biographies of Yue Yi, Lian Po and Lin Xiangru, Tian Dan, and Lu Zhonglian; the 1969 selection of *Records of the Great Historian* by Burton Watson; the 1974 *Sima Qian: Warlords, Translated with Twelve Other Stories from His Historical Records* by William Dolby and James A. Scott, grouping selected figures of the Eastern Zhou dynasty as military commanders, warlords, assassins and sycophants; the 1974 *Records of the Historian* translated by Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang; and the 1993 *Records of the Grand Historian: Qin Dynasty* by Burton Watson, which adds the Qin dynasty to the 1961 edition.

For *Han Shu* by Ban Gu, the translations available include: the 1938 selection from *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* translated by Homer H. Dubs and the 1974 *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from the "History of the Former Han"* by Burton Watson.

For *Hou Han Shu* by Fan Ye, there are: the 1953 *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty* by Hans Bielenstein and the 1984 *Three Generals of Later Han* by Gregory Young that translates the biographies of Huangfu Gui, Zhang Huan and Duan Jiong.

Li Daoyuan's *Shui Jing Zhu* was translated and annotated by J. C. Creutz in 1981 as *Commentary on the "Waterways Classic"*.

Scholars of the English-speaking world are more concerned about the literary features of the historical works in this period, such as their narrative style, the nature of their fabrication and their relationship with pure literature. William Dolby and James A. Scott praise the style of *Shi Ji* as diverse and brilliant, sometimes like a wild galloping horse, sometimes like a quiet resting maiden.

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Readers could feel the tension of the running lines and a multitude of events being knitted magically together to correspond with each other. No one word was redundant and everything written would connect to the theme of the story sooner or later. Watson's *Selections from the "History of the Former Han"* is for the target readership of those hoping to learn about its literariness and get a general idea of Chinese historians. Watson thinks *Han Shu* is famous for its brevity, but sometimes this brevity is achieved at the cost of clarity. Some scholars, however, notice a touch of fabrication in some of the stories in these historical works. Derk Bodd, for example, points out that some dialogs in the biography of Jing Ke from *Shi Ji* cannot be authentic, and, in his opinion, are made up for the completeness of the story. Naturally scholars are divided on this fabrication: some applaud it and others criticize. For example, Kenneth J. Dewoski contends that without those fictional and vivid descriptions, those alchemists could not have been so lively and fresh. However, Hans Bielenstein thinks that *Hou Han Shu* includes too many secondhand materials and most of the dialogs, anecdotes and dramatic explanations are no more than make-up stories from the author's own imagination, so the book has no real historical value at all. The relationship between China's ancient geographical works and pure literature is another subject that has commanded the attention of many sinologists. J. C. Creutz, for example, in the translation of *Shui Jing Zhu*, has detailed comments on the literary quality of this kind of work.

Apart from reasoning and narrative essays, there are expressive essays worthy of the same attention from sinologists, since there is no lack of outstanding works in this field from this period. Unfortunately, reality has proven otherwise, with one exception, namely, the 1980 *Gleanings from Tao Yuan-ming: Prose &*

Poetry translated by R. C. Fang. Another pity is that there are few theoretical works on expressive essays. Probably the 1953 *Biography of Su Ch'o* by Chauncey S. Goodrich could pass for one. In his introduction, he quotes commentaries on Su Chuo from several Chinese scholars such as Liu Zhiji, Sima Guang and Ye Shi and regrets that western sinologists have not paid more attention to such an important figure. It is worth noting that Cao Pi, Lu Ji and others actually included criticism on prose in their critical works, and their introduction to the English world might alleviate the situation.

Modern American sinologist David R. Knechtges focuses his study on literature in this period, on rhapsody in particular. He has made case studies on Yang Xiong in two of his works: *The Han Rhapsody: A Study of the* Fu *of Yang Xiong* and *The "Hanshu" Biography of Yang Xiong*. Another commendable achievement is that he has devoted himself to the translation of *Selections of Refined Literature* (*Wen Xuan*) and introduced to English readers China's earliest and most influential collection of prose and poetry. *A Guide to Chinese Literature*, co-authored by Wilt L. Idema and Lloyd L. Haft, is a comprehensive overview of the 3,000-year history of Chinese literature, with each literary style illustrated against its historical background. *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* by Stephen Owen, also reviews the features of different stages of Chinese literature and their representative works. *Chinese Classical Literature: An Anthology of Translations* is a complete work on literary styles, representative writers and works of different periods as well, a work with far-reaching influence in the field of sinology.

IV. How This Book Was Compiled

Editors of Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press

settled the contents of the book after balancing advice from both Chinese and English experts. They then launched a blanket search for English books, journals and papers on ancient Chinese prose, and found that a considerable number of these pieces have been introduced into the English-speaking world, some in a dozen of English translations. After meticulous comparison and evaluation, they selected what are considered to be the best translations, some by famous sinologists, some by translators from China's own soil. To keep their original style, editors have made no revision except for some glaring errors. As regards selection of the original Chinese texts, those published along with the translations were chosen directly; as to those published without original Chinese texts, editors chose the best-known versions and checked character after character and sentence after sentence in reference to the English translations. To give readers a clear idea of stylistic development in this period, the pieces are arranged in order of dynasties, within which the authors are listed according to the year of their births. If one author is represented by more than one work, the works are either put in order of completion (if the time is known) or in alphabetical order. Despite all the work done, imperfection is inevitable in this book. So readers are more than welcome to point out any flaw they come across at any time. Under pressure of time, it is impossible to contact every translator involved, so the Copyright Agency under the General Administration of Press and Publication, P. R. C., is entrusted to take full charge of the copyright issue. Please contact the agency if a related issue occurs.

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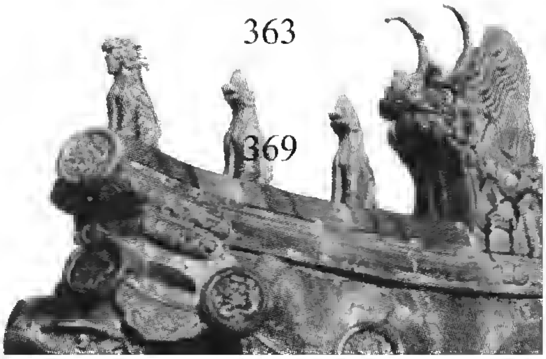

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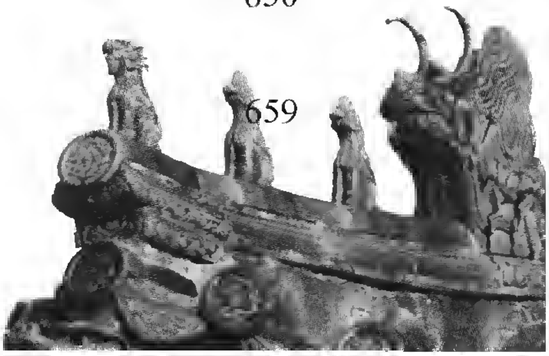

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贾谊

过秦论

【原文】

秦孝公据殽、函之固，拥雍州之地，君臣固守，以窥周室，有席卷天下，包举宇内，囊括四海之意，并吞八荒之心。当是时也，商君佐之，内立法度，务耕织，修守战之备，外连衡而斗诸侯。于是秦人拱手而取西河之外。

孝公既没，惠文王、武王、昭王蒙故业，因遗策，南取汉中，西举巴蜀，东割膏腴之地，收要害之郡。诸侯恐惧，会盟而谋弱秦。不爱珍器重宝肥饶之地，以致天下之士。合从缔交，相与为一。当此之时，齐有孟尝，赵有平原，楚有春申，魏有信陵。此四君者，皆明知

【今译】

秦孝公占据崤山和函谷关的险固地势，拥有整个雍州地区，君臣牢固把守，随时窥视着周王朝的政权。大有席卷天下，包举宇内，囊括四海的劲头，并吞八方极远之地的心气。在那个时候，商鞅辅佐秦孝公，对内建立法令制度，致力于耕种纺织，整治攻守的武器；对外用连横的策略使诸侯们互相争斗。秦国就这样轻而易举地取得了黄河以西的大片土地。

秦孝公死后，秦惠文王、武王、昭襄王继承了秦孝公的治国事业，遵循着先人留下来的策略，向南面夺取了汉中，向西南夺取了巴蜀，向东面割得了肥沃的土地，向北面夺得了冲要险阻的郡邑。诸侯们恐惧惊慌，相会结盟商量对策来削弱秦国。他们不吝惜珍贵的财宝和富饶的土地，用来招纳天下的人才；采取合纵策略缔结盟约，互相支援，成为一体。在这个时候，齐国有孟尝君，赵国有平原君，楚国有春申

Jia Yi

On the Cause of Ruin of the Qin Empire

King Xiao of Qin, relying on the impregnable Yao Mountain and Hangu Pass as well as the territory of Yong Province stoutly guarded by both the liege and the vassals, pretended to the throne of the Zhou Empire, having the ambition of subjugating the other states and conquering the whole country. At that time the State, under the premiership of Shang Yang, proceeded to institute laws and statutes and concerned itself with farming and weaving as well as armaments, while externally it resorted to the diplomatic tactics of placating the other six principalities while abetting them to fight each other. As a consequence, Qin won the land west of the Yellow River hands down.

After the death of King Xiao, Kings Huiwen, Wu and Zhaoxiang inherited the ancestral estate, and following the policy of their predecessor, took Hanzhong in the south, invaded Ba and Shu in the west, annexed the fertile land in the east and seized the prefectures of strategic importance in the north. The other principalities, being frightened, formed an alliance and contrived to weaken Qin's power. They spared neither treasures, jewelery nor fecund soil to win over talents of the country and became united in one by establishing friendly relations. At the time there were Mengchang of Qi, Pingyuan of Zhao, Chunshen of Chu and Xinling of Wei—the four prestigious princes, who were perspicacious and judicious, loyal and faithful, benevolent and magnanimous, respecting the wise and honoring the elite. They pledged to unite in baffling Qin's ruse of disrupting their alliance, thus enlisting the support of the people of the states of Han, Wei, Yan, Chu, Qi, Zhao, Song, Wei* and Zhongshan. In addition, they benefited from the six states in terms of the well-judged counsels of such advisors as

【原文】

而忠信，宽厚而爱人，尊贤而重士。约从连横，兼韩、魏、燕、赵、宋、卫、中山之众。于是六国之士，有宁越、徐尚、苏秦、杜赫之属为之谋，齐明、周最、陈轸、邵滑、楼缓、翟景、苏厉、乐毅之徒通其意，吴起、孙膑、带佗、兒良、王廖、田忌、廉颇、赵奢之伦制其兵。尝以什倍之地，百万之众，仰关而攻秦。秦人开关而延敌，九国之师遁逃而不敢进。秦无亡矢遗镞之费，而天下固已困矣。于是从散约解，争割地而赂秦。秦有余力而制其弊，追亡逐北，伏尸百万，流血漂橹。因利乘便，宰割天下，分裂河山。强国请服，弱国入朝。

施及孝文王、庄襄王，享国之日浅，国家无事。

【今译】

君，魏国有信陵君。这四位公子，都英明智慧而忠诚信义，宽宏厚道而爱惜人才，尊重贤者而器重士人。他们互相约定实行合纵策略联合抗秦，破坏秦国的连横策略，联合了韩、魏、燕、赵、宋、卫、中山等国。如此一来，六国的人才，有宁越、徐尚、苏秦、杜赫这些人替他们出谋划策；有齐明、周最、陈轸、邵滑、楼缓、翟景、苏厉、乐毅这些人传达他们的意见；有吴起、孙膑、带佗、兒良、王廖、田忌、廉颇、赵奢这些人统率他们的军队。诸侯们曾经凭借相当于秦国十倍大的土地，百万的大军，攻打函谷关而进击秦国。秦国开关迎敌，九国的军队却掉头逃跑不敢前进。秦国没有耗费一弓一箭，天下的诸侯却已经疲惫不堪了。于是合纵解散，盟约破坏，各自争相割地贿赂秦国。秦国有充裕的力量来利用诸侯的弱点，追赶逃亡败走的敌人，杀得他们横尸百万，流的血把大盾牌都漂浮起来。秦国趁着有利的形势，方便的时机，主宰天下，分割土地山河，因而强国请求臣服，弱国前来朝拜称臣了。

延续到秦孝文王、庄襄王的时候，他们在位的时间短暂，国家没有什么事。

Ning Yue, Xu Shang, Su Qin and Du He and the communication of views through such diplomats as Qi Ming, Zhou Zui, Chen Zhen, Shao Gu, Lou Huan, Zhai Jing, Su Li and Yue Yi as well as the command of their army by such strategists and generals as Wu Qi, Sun Bin, Dai Tuo, Ni Liang, Wang Liao, Tian Ji, Lian Po and Zhao She. With a territory tenfold larger than Qin and a million troops, they attempted Hangu Pass to attack their common foe, who however opened it to allure them in. But the army of the nine states dared not enter the pass and effected an escape. Thus all the principalities in the country were frustrated without Qin's wasting a single arrow. Following this their alliance was dissolved and the treaty relinquished, with each party competing to cede land to bribe Qin. So it was enabled to assault them by exploiting their individual weaknesses. As a result, their defeated troops were mercilessly run down and a million of them slaughtered, with their bucklers floating on the pools of their blood. Taking advantage of its victory, Qin carved and split up the country, forcing the stronger principalities to yield and the weaker ones to pay it homage.

At the time of King Xiaowen and King Zhuangxiang, whose reigns did not last long, all was quiet in the country.

【原文】

及至始皇，奋六世之余烈，振长策而御宇内，吞二周而亡诸侯，履至尊而制六合，执敲朴以鞭笞天下，威振四海。南取百越之地，以为桂林、象郡。百越之君，俯首系颈，委命下吏。乃使蒙恬北筑长城而守藩篱，却匈奴七百余里，胡人不敢南下而牧马，士亦不敢贯弓而报怨。

于是废先王之道，燔百家之言，以愚黔首。隳名城，杀豪俊，收天下之兵，聚之咸阳，销锋鍉，铸以为金人十二，以弱天下之民。然后践华为城，因河为池，据亿丈之城，临不测之溪以为固。良将劲弩，守要害之处，信臣精卒，陈利兵而谁何。天下已定，始皇之心，自以为关中之固，金城千里，子孙帝王万世之业也。

【今译】

到了秦始皇，发扬六代传下来的功业，像驾车似的挥动长鞭来驾御各诸侯国，吞并了东周和西周，灭亡了诸侯，登上了皇帝的宝座而控制天下，手持刑具来鞭笞天下的人民，声威震慑四海。向南方夺取了百越的土地，把它设为桂林郡和象郡，百越的君长们，低着头，用绳子拴住自己的脖子，把自己的性命交给秦王朝的下级官吏掌握。于是派蒙恬到北方去修筑长城，作为防守边疆的屏障，把匈奴向北驱赶了七百多里，匈奴人不敢到南边来牧马，兵士也不敢搭起弓箭来报仇。

于是废除了先王的治国之道，焚烧了诸子百家的著作，以图使老百姓愚昧无知；毁坏各地的名城，杀戮才智杰出的人，收集天下的武器集中到咸阳，熔化刀剑和箭头，铸成十二座金属人像，来削弱天下人民的反抗力量。然后依凭华山当作城墙，凭借黄河作为护城河，倚仗亿丈高的华山，据守着深险莫测的黄河，作为守卫的险要之地。良将拿着强弓，防守冲要的地方，可靠的大臣带领精干的士兵，拿着锋利的武器，严厉盘查过往的行人是谁。天下已经平定，秦始皇的心中，自以为关中地势险要，城郭坚固，城池宽广，可以作为子子孙孙万世当皇帝的基业了。

When it came to the First Emperor of Qin, he enhanced the martial glory of the six preceding reigns by brandishing his long whip to drive the nation like a bridled horse. He vanquished the two successive Zhou Empires and subjugated all the principalities, and having been crowned as Emperor and holding sway over the whole country, subjected all the people to wanton torments, thus making his terror-striking name resound throughout the nation. Then he seized the land of Baiyue in the south and instituted it as the prefectures of Xiang and Guilin, causing its monarch to surrender with lowered head and roped neck and obey the orders of low-ranking officials. Next he charged General Meng Tian with the task of building the Great Wall and defending this fortified fence, and the latter succeeded in repulsing the Huns as far as seven hundred li away. Thenceforward they dared not go south to graze their horses and bend their bows to take revenge.

Afterwards, he abolished the ways of his predecessors and burnt up the writings of the multifarious schools so as to dupe the common people. Moreover, he demolished the celebrated towns, slaughtered the elite of the people and collected all the weapons of the country at Xianyang for the purpose of melting the sword blades and arrow heads and casting the metal into twelve brass human models so as to weaken the people's strength. Finally, he made Mount Hua his rampart and the Yellow River his moat, entrenching himself in his immensely elevated palace which overlooked the unfathomable valley, thinking himself completely secure. With capable generals equipped with excellent weapons guarding the strategic forts and devoted officers leading well-armed picked soldiers searching every passenger at the Pass, the Empire appeared to be consolidated. And the Emperor was convinced that his invulnerable Guanzhong region as well as his impregnable and huge domain would ensure the devolution of his regal power upon the endless generations of his progeny.

【原文】

始皇既没，余威振于殊俗。然而陈涉瓮牖绳枢之子，氓隶之人，而迁徙之徒也。材能不及中人，非有仲尼、墨翟之贤，陶朱、猗顿之富也。蹑足行伍之间，俯仰阡陌之中，率疲散之卒，将数百之众，转而攻秦。斩木为兵，揭竿为旗，天下云会响应，赢粮而景从，山东豪俊遂并起而亡秦族矣。

且天下非小弱也，雍州之地，殽、函之固自若也。陈涉之位，非尊于齐、楚、燕、赵、韩、魏、宋、卫、中山之君也；锄耰棘矜，非铦于钩戟长铩也；谪戍之众，非抗于九国之师也；深谋远虑，行军用兵之道，非及曩时之士也。然而成败异变，功业相反也。试使山东之国与陈涉度长絜大,比权量力,则不可同年而语矣。然而秦以区区之地，

【今译】

秦始皇死了以后，他的余威还震慑着远方。然而陈涉是一个用破瓮作窗户，用草绳拴门的穷苦人家的子弟，是耕田的人，是被征发戍守边境的人。他的才能比不上一般的人，既没有孔子、墨子那样的德行，也没有陶朱、猗顿那样的富有。置身在戍卒的行列之中，混迹乡野之间，带领着疲乏散乱的戍卒，统率着几百个人，转身攻打秦国。他们砍下木棍做武器，高举竹竿为旗帜，天下的人就像风云那样迅速汇集起来，像回响那样应声而起，带着粮食，如影随形地跟着他，崤山函谷关以东的英雄豪杰一齐起来，就把秦王朝推翻了。

再说那秦王朝的天下并没有缩小削弱；雍州的土地，崤山函谷关的险要坚固还像从前一样。陈涉的地位，并不比齐、楚、燕、赵、韩、魏、宋、卫、中山的君主尊贵；锄耙戟柄，并不比钩戟长矛锋利；被征发戍守边地的民众，并不比九国的军队强大；深谋远虑，行军与指挥作战的本领，也比不上先前那些才智之士。但是成功失败完全不同，功业完全相反。假使拿崤山、函谷关以东各国诸侯来跟陈涉量量长短，比比大小，比较一下他们的权势，衡量衡量他们的实力，那简直不能

After the demise of the Emperor, his awe-inspiring prestige continued to vibrate among the border peoples. Nevertheless, a man, Chen She by name, came on the scene. Being a peasant of humble origin and later a conscript in transit, he was even less capable than an average man, with neither such wisdom and sagacity as Confucius and Mo Di, nor such wealth as Tao Zhu and Yi Dun. He nevertheless rose from the rank and file and staged a revolt in the fields. Leading fatigued soldiers numbering a mere total of several hundred, he and his men turned to attack Qin, using wooden cudgels as weapons and raising a bamboo stick as his standard. The whole country, answering his call, rallied around him, and everybody, carrying grain on his back, followed him like a shadow. Thus, heroes east of Yao Mountain all mustered their men in a common effort to annihilate Qin.

In retrospect, Qin before its downfall was neither lessened nor weakened, possessing as before the territory of Yong and enjoying the impregnability of Yao Mountain and Hangu Pass. As for Chen She, his position was less exalted than those of the sovereigns of Qi, Chu, Yan, Zhao, Han, Wei, Song, Wei and Zhongshan; his weaponry consisting of hoe shafts and rods was not as effective as incisive halberds and spears; and the conscript convicts were no match for the regular troops of the nine states. In respect of deep calculations and far-sighted deliberations concerning military affairs, his again fell short of those of the aforesaid strategists. Nevertheless, there was the striking contrast between his victory and the defeat of those states and between the two diametrically opposite issues. If the states east of Yao Mountain were to compare with Chen She in the various advantages, and measure strength with him, the two parties could certainly not be mentioned in the same breath. Previously, the State of Qin, with a small tract of land, attained the regal status of possessing ten thousand charioted troops, summoning its original peers in the eight provinces to pay homage to its court during a period of more than one hundred years. Then it made the whole nation its private estate and turned Yao Mountain and Hangu Pass into its palace walls. But only one man was needed to trigger off the rebellion and Qin's ancestral temples were ruined, while the Second Emperor died at the hands of the vulgar herd, making himself a laughing

【原文】

致万乘之权，抑八州而朝同列，百有余年矣。然后以六合为家，殽、函为宫，一夫作难而七庙隳，身死人手，为天下笑者，何也？仁义不施，而攻守之势异也。

【今译】

够同年而语、相提并论。而秦国当初凭借很小的地方，发展为有万辆兵车的强国，进而控制了其他八州，使本来与它地位相同的诸侯国都来向秦国朝拜称臣，已经有一百多年的历史了。之后秦国把天地四方当作家，把崤山、函谷关当作宫墙。可是陈涉一个人首倡起义，秦王朝的七代宗庙就被毁坏，连秦王子婴也死在别人手中，被天下的人所讥笑，这是什么原因呢？这是因为不施行仁政，并且攻取天下和防守天下的形势不同了啊。

大中华文库

stock of thc world. Why? Because the absence of benevolencc and righteousnccss tipped the scale.

(*Translated by Xie Baikui*)

吊屈原赋

【原文】

恭承嘉惠兮，
俟罪长沙。
侧闻屈原兮，
自沉汨罗。
造托湘流兮，
敬吊先生。
遭世罔极兮，
乃殒厥身。
呜呼哀哉兮，
逢时不祥！
鸾凤伏窜兮，
鸱鸮翱翔。
阘茸尊显兮，
谗谀得志。
贤圣逆曳兮，
方正倒植。
世谓随、夷为溷兮，
谓跖、蹻为廉。
莫邪为钝兮，
铅刀为铦。
吁嗟默默兮，
生之无故！

【今译】

领受皇恩啊，
待罪到长沙。
听闻屈原啊，
自沉汨罗江。
托付湘江流水啊，
悼念先生。
遭受世间谗言啊，
葬身浪涛。
可哀可叹啊，
生逢不幸的时代！
鸾凤躲避逃窜啊，
怪鸟却在高空翱翔。
卑鄙无能的小人显贵啊，
奉承阿谀的人得志。
贤明圣人无法立足啊，
正直之人难以生存。
世人认为卞随、伯夷恶浊啊，
盗跖、庄蹻却成了廉直之人。
莫邪这样的宝剑被认为钝啊，
软而钝的刀却被赞为锋利。
可叹先生怀才不遇啊，
无故遭受迫害！

Lament for Ch'ü Yüan

With awe I receive the imperial blessing,
And await chastisement at Ch'ang-sha.
I have heard men tell of Ch'ü Yüan,
And how he drowned himself in the Mi-lo.
I have come, and to Hsiang's flowing waters
With reverence entrust this lament for the Master.
You met with the evil ones of the world
And they have destroyed this body.
Pitiful, alas,
That you should fall upon such days.
Hidden are the phoenixes from sight,
While kites and owls flap abroad.
Now the dullard gains favor and fame;
The slanderer and the toady have their way.
The wise and sage they turn aside;
The righteous they have toppled over.
Now the world calls Po-yi greedy
And speaks of the purity of Robber Chih;
The blade Mu-yeh, they say, is dull,
And praise for keenness knives of lead.
(Alas, Master, I am dumb—
You, who were without fault!)

【原文】	【今译】
斡弃周鼎，	这就好比抛弃栋梁之材，
宝康瓠兮。	却视庸才为宝物啊。
腾驾罢牛，	乘坐、驾驶疲牛，
骖蹇驴兮。	让跛驴驾车啊。
骥垂两耳，	却让骏马垂着两耳，
服盐车兮。	去拉盐车啊。
章甫荐履，	士人帽冠垫在鞋履之下，
渐不可久兮。	终不可长久啊。
嗟苦先生，	可叹苦了先生，
独离此咎兮！	独自遭受这样的苦难啊！
讯曰：	总之：
已矣！	算了吧！
国其莫我知兮，	整个国家没有谁能了解我啊，
独壹郁其谁语？	独自抑郁又能与谁说呢？
凤漂漂其高逝兮，	凤凰翩翩高飞而去啊，
夫固自引而远去。	自己本来就要远走高飞。
袭九渊之神龙兮，	效仿潜藏在深渊中的神龙啊，
沕深潜以自珍。	深藏在渊底来保护自己。
偭蟂獭以隐处兮，	弃离蟂獭之兽去隐居啊，
夫岂从虾与蛭螾？	岂能与蛤蟆、水蛭、蚯蚓为伍？
所贵圣人之神德兮，	我认为珍贵的东西是圣人的神明德行啊，
远浊世而自藏。	远离污浊的世界而自己隐居起来。
使骐骥可得系而羁兮，	假使骐骥也能够被束缚而受羁绊啊，
岂云异夫犬羊？	与狗和羊还有什么不同呢？
般纷纷其离此尤兮，	在如此混乱之地遭受苦难啊，
亦夫子之故也！	也是你自己的原因！
历九州而相其君兮，	游历到哪里都能辅佐君主啊，

Cast aside are the cauldrons of Chou;
Pots of clay are what men hold precious now.
Wearied oxen draw the carriages;
To the chariot the lame nag is harnessed,
While the fine-blooded stallion droops his ears
And plods before a wagon of salt.
The caps of state are trod underfoot—
Confusion cannot be far off!
Ah, bitter, my Master,
That you met with this sorrow!

Reprise:
"It is over.
There is none in the kingdom who knows me!"[1]
Alone in my woe, to whom shall I speak?
Lightly the phoenix soars aloft;
Far off he withdraws, he departs.
The holy dragons of the nine-fold depths
Conceal their rareness in fathomless tides,
Deep their iridescence hide
Where leech and mudworm cannot bore.
The shining virtue of the sage

Must shut itself far from the filth of the world.
If the unicorn be leashed,
How does he differ from dog or ram?
Hesitation brought you to this fate;
Was this not the sin of my lord?
Roaming the nine lands to save your prince,

【原文】	【今译】
何必怀此都也。	又何必留恋这个国都呢？
凤凰翔于千仞兮，	凤凰在高空翱翔啊，
览德辉而下之。	看到仁德的光辉才降落下来。
见细德之险征兮，	见到卑下品德的危险征兆啊，
遥曾击而去之。	远远地就高击长空而离开险地。
彼寻常之污渎兮，	那些普通寻常污秽不流动的水沟啊，
岂能容夫吞舟之巨鱼？	哪里能容得下能吞舟的大鱼？
横江湖之鳣鲸兮，	畅游江湖的鳣鱼和巨鲸啊，
固将制于蝼蚁。	如果搁浅就会受制于蝼蚁。

Must you yet long for the capital?
To the rarest heights the phoenix soars,
Alights where the light of virtue shines;
Spying the snares of petty goodness,
He beats his wings and flies away.
How in this shallow, mud-clogged fen
Should swim the giants of the sea?
The whale, stranded on the river shoals,
Ants and crickets feed upon!

(*Translated by Burton Watson*)

晁错

言兵事疏

【原文】

臣闻汉兴以来，胡虏数入边地，小入则小利，大入则大利；高后时再入陇西，攻城屠邑，驱略畜产；其后复入陇西，杀吏卒，大寇盗。窃闻战胜之威，民气百倍；败兵之卒，没世不复。自高后以来，陇西三困于匈奴矣，民气破伤，亡有胜意。今兹陇西之吏，赖社稷之神灵，奉陛下之明诏，和辑士卒，底厉其节，起破伤之民以当乘胜之匈奴，用少击众，杀一王，败其众而大有利。非陇西之民有勇怯，乃将吏之制巧拙异也。故兵法曰："有必胜之将，无必胜之民。"由此观之，安边境，立功名，在于良将，不可不择也。

【今译】

我听说自汉朝兴起以来，匈奴数次入侵边境，小规模的侵袭就获得小的利益，大举入侵就获得大的利益；吕后时匈奴再次入侵陇西，攻占城池屠杀百姓，劫掠牲畜等财物；后来又一次侵入陇西，杀死守城的官兵，大肆抢劫盗掠。我私下听说打胜仗的威力，可以使百姓气势百倍；吃了败仗的士兵，很长时间都难以恢复元气。自从吕后当政以来，陇西三次被困于匈奴，百姓气势受挫，没有胜利的信心。现在陇西的官吏，依靠社稷的神灵，遵奉陛下圣明的命令，团结士兵，磨砺他们的气节，发动已经垂头丧气的百姓来抵挡乘胜前进的匈奴，以少敌众，杀死了一个匈奴的首领，大败他们的大部队而取得大的胜利。这并非陇西的百姓有勇敢和怯懦之分，而是将领用兵的方法有巧妙和笨拙的差别。所以兵法说："有一定会胜利的将领，没有一定会胜利的百姓。"由此看来，安定边境，建立功名，在于好的将领，所以不能不慎重选择。

On War

May it please your Majesty: Ever since the accession of the House of Han there have been constant irruptions of Tartar hordes, with more or less profit to the invaders. During one reign they twice fell upon Lung-hsi, besieging the city, slaughtering the people, and driving off cattle. On another occasion, they made a further raid, murdered the officials and garrison, and carried away everything upon which they could lay their hands. Now, victory inspires men with additional courage; with defeat their *morale* disappears. And these three defeats at Lung-hsi have left the inhabitants utterly demoralized, with never a ray of hope for the future. The officials, acting under the protection of the Gods and armed with authority from the Throne, may strive to renew the morale and discipline of their soldiers, and to raise the courage of a beaten people to face the onset of Huns flushed with victory. They may struggle to oppose many with few, or to compass the rout of a host by the slaughter of its leader. The question, however, is not one of the bravery or cowardice of our people, but rather of the strategy of our generals. Thus it is said in the *Art of War*, "A good general is more indispensable to success than a good army." Therefore we should begin by careful selection of competent generals.

【原文】

臣又闻用兵，临战合刃之急者三：一曰得地形，二曰卒服习，三曰器用利。兵法曰：丈五之沟，渐车之水，山林积石，山川丘阜，草木所在，此步兵之地也，车骑二不当一。土山平陵，曼衍相属，平原广野，此车骑之地也，步兵十不当一。平陵相远，川谷居间，仰高临下，此弓弩之地也，短兵百不当一。两阵相近，平地浅草，可前可后，此长戟之地也，剑楯三不当一。萑苇竹萧，草木蒙茏，支叶茂接，此矛铤之地也，长戟二不当一。曲道相伏，险厄相薄，此剑楯之地也，弓弩三不当一。士不选练，卒不服习，起居不精，动静不集，趋利弗及，避难不毕，前击后解，与金鼓之指相失，此不习勒卒之过也，百不

【今译】

我又听说用兵，交战前的当务之急有三个方面：一是要深入了解地形，二是士兵要经过精熟训练，三是武器锋利。兵法说：一丈五尺长的沟，刚刚浸上战车的浅水，积满石头的山林，丘陵土山，草木繁盛的地方，都是步兵的战场，战车和骑兵不能发挥一半的作用。土山丘陵，绵延不绝，到处都是平原广野，这是战车骑兵的战场，十个步兵抵不上一个骑兵。远远望去是平地和丘陵，中间隔着河流和山谷，居高临下，这是弓弩手的战场，一百个拿着短兵刃的士兵也抵挡不了一个弓弩手。敌我双方的阵地相隔很近，地势平坦，没有深草阻碍，进退自如，这是持长戟的士兵的战场，三个持剑盾的士兵也抵挡不了一个持长戟的士兵。芦苇蒿草丛生，草木茂盛，枝叶相交，这是持短矛的士兵的战场，两个持长戟的士兵也抵挡不了一个持短矛的士兵。道路弯弯曲曲，十分隐蔽，各种险要的地势相互重叠，这是持剑盾的士兵的战场，三个持弓弩的士兵也抵挡不了一个持剑盾的士兵。士兵不选拔训练，不习熟武艺，日常起居时间不严格，动作不整齐划一，不懂得如何利用机会，不知道如何避免灾难，前面战鼓敲响，后面的士兵却十分懈怠，和战鼓的命令相违背，这是不严格训练士兵的过错，

Further, there are three points upon which the fate of a battle depends. These are (1) Position, (2) Discipline, and (3) Arms.[1] We read in the *Art of War*, "(1) A country intersected by ditches and watercourses, or marshy, or woody, or rocky, or overgrown with vegetation, is favorable to the operations of infantry. Two horsemen are there not equal to one foot-soldier. "Gentle slopes of soft earth, and level plains, are adapted to the maneuvers of cavalry. Ten foot-soldiers are there not a match for one horseman. Where the route lies between high hills some distance apart, or through defiles with steep precipices on each side, the conditions are favorable to bowmen. A hundred soldiers with side-arms are there no match for a single archer. Where two armies meet at close quarters on a plain, covered with short grass and giving plenty of room to maneuver, the conditions are favorable to lancers. Three men with sword and buckler are not equal to one of these. But in jungle and amid thick undergrowth, there is nothing like the short spear. Two lancers are there not equal to one spearman. On the other hand, where the path is tortuous and difficult, and the enemy is concealed from view, then swordsmen carry everything before them, one man thus equipped being more than a match for three archers. (2) If soldiers are not carefully chosen and well drilled to obey, their movements will be irregular. They will not act in concert. They will miss success for want of unanimity. Their retreat will be disorderly, one half fighting while the other is running away. They will not respond to the call of the gong and drum. One hundred such as these will not hold their own against ten well-drilled men. (3) If their arms are not good, the soldiers might as well have none. If the cuirass is not stout and close set, the breast might as well be bare. Bows that will not carry, are no more use at long distances than swords and spears. Bad marksmen might as well have no arrows. Even good marksmen, unless able to make their arrows pierce, might as well shoot with headless shafts. These are the oversights of incompetent generals. Five such soldiers are

【原文】

当十。兵不完利，与空手同；甲不坚密，与袒裼同；弩不可以及远，与短兵同；射不能中，与亡矢同；中不能入，与亡镞同；此将不省兵之祸也，五不当一。故兵法曰：器械不利，以其卒予敌也；卒不可用，以其将予敌也；将不知兵，以其主予敌也；君不择将，以其国予敌也。四者，兵之至要也。

臣又闻小大异形，强弱异势，险易异备。夫卑身以事强，小国之形也；合小以攻大，敌国之形也；以蛮夷攻蛮夷，中国之形也。今匈奴地形技艺与中国异。上下山阪，出入溪涧，中国之马弗与也；险道倾仄，且驰且射，中国之骑弗与也；风雨罢劳，饥渴不困，中国之人弗与也，此匈奴之长技也。若夫平原易地，轻车突骑，则匈奴之众易

【今译】

一百个这样的士兵也抵挡不了十个精兵。兵器不坚固锋利，和空手一样；盔甲不坚固，和没穿盔甲一样；弓弩不能射得很远，和短兵刃一样；射箭不能射中，和没有箭一样；射中了却没有穿透，和没有箭头一样；这是将领没有检验兵器的后果，五个这样的士兵抵挡不了一个精兵。所以兵法说：兵器不锋利，是将自己的士兵送给敌人；士兵不会打仗，是将自己的将领送给敌人；将领不了解自己的士兵，是将自己的国君送给敌人；君主不精选将领，是将自己的国家送给敌人。这四点是战争的关键。

我又听说小国和大国的表现不同，强国和弱国的形势不同，险要之地和平缓之地的戒备不同。谦卑地侍奉强国，这是小国的表现；联合小国来攻打大国，这是势均力敌的国家的表现；用蛮夷来攻打蛮夷，这是中原人的表现。现在匈奴的地形和技艺都与中原不同。上下山川，出入溪涧，中原的马匹不如他们；道路崎岖不平，一边奔驰一边射箭，中原的骑兵不如他们；经历风雨不疲劳，忍受饥渴不困顿的能力，中原人不如他们，这是匈奴人的长处。如果在平原这样地势平坦的地方，

no match for one." Therefore, the *Art of War* says, "Bad weapons betray soldiers. Raw soldiers betray their general. Incompetent generals betray their sovereign. Injudicious sovereigns betray their country." The above four points are of vital importance in military matters.

May it please your Majesty. There is a difference in outline between great things and small ones. There is a difference in power between the strong and the weak. There is a difference in preparation between dangerous enterprises and easy ones. To truckle and cringe to the powerful, this is the behavior of a petty State. To mass small forces against one great force, this is the attitude of a hostile State. To use barbarians as a weapon against barbarians, this is what we do in the Central State. The configuration of the Hun territory, and the particular skill there available, are not what we are accustomed to at home. In scaling mountains and fording rivers our horses do not excel; nor our horsemen in galloping wildly along precipitous mountain paths, shooting as they go; nor our soldiers in endurance of cold, hunger, and thirst. In all these respects the Huns are our superiors. On level ground we beat them out of the field. Our bows, our spears, are incomparably better than theirs. Our armor, our blades, and the maneuvers of our troops, are unmatched by anything the Huns can show. When our good archers discharge their arrows, the arrows strike the target all together, against which their cuirasses and wooden bucklers are of no avail. And when it comes to dismounting and hand-to-hand fighting with sword and

【原文】

挠乱也；劲弩长戟，射疏及远，则匈奴之弓弗能格也；坚甲利刃，长短相杂，游弩往来，什伍俱前，则匈奴之兵弗能当也；材官驺发，矢道同的，则匈奴之革笥木荐弗能支也；下马地斗，剑戟相接，去就相薄，则匈奴之足弗能给也，此中国之长技也。以此观之，匈奴之长技三，中国之长技五。陛下又兴数十万之众，以诛数万之匈奴，众寡之计，以一击十之术也。

虽然，兵，凶器；战，危事也。以大为小，以强为弱，在俯仰之间耳。夫以人之死争胜，跌而不振，则悔之亡及也。帝王之道，出于万全。今降胡义渠蛮夷之属来归谊者，其众数千，饮食长技与匈奴同，可赐之坚甲絮衣，劲弓利矢，益以边郡之良骑。令明将能知其习俗和

【今译】

有轻便的战车和精锐的骑兵，那么匈奴就容易被搅乱；强有力的弩和长戟射到远处，匈奴人的弓箭就不能抵御；坚固的盔甲和锋利的刀，长短相辅，游弩往来，十个五个人一拥而上，那么匈奴的士兵就无法抵挡；步兵射出精良的箭，同时射向敌军，那么匈奴皮制的甲胄和木制的盾牌就支撑不住了；下马在地上格斗，剑戟相交，短兵相接，那么匈奴人的腿脚就不灵便了，这是中原人的长处。由此看来，匈奴人的长处有三个，中原人的长处有五个。陛下又兴兵数十万，用来诛讨数万人的匈奴，众寡悬殊，用的是以十击一的方法。

尽管这样，兵器，是不祥之物；战争，是危险的事情。大变成小，强变成弱，在极其短暂的时间里就会发生。以人的性命去争胜负，一旦失败，就难以东山再起，就会后悔莫及。帝王的策略，出自万分的周全。现在降服的义渠等少数民族归顺汉朝的，有数千人，他们的饮食和长处与匈奴一样，可以赐给他们盔甲绵衣，强劲的弓和锋利的箭，再给他们边疆的优良马匹。让贤明的将领了解他们的习俗，团结他们

spear in the supreme struggle, the vietory is easily ours. In these respeets we exeel them. Thus, the Huns may be eompared with us in strength as three to five. Besides which, to slaughter their myriads we ean bring tens of myriads, and erush them by mere foree of numbers.

But arms are a eurse, and war is a dread thing. For in the twinkling of an eye the mighty may be humbled, and the strong may be brought low. The stake is great, and men's lives of no aeeount. For him who falls to rise no more, the hour of repentanee is past. Now the maxim of our aneient kings was this—"The greatest safety of the greatest number." And as we have among us several thousand barbarians who, in point of food and skill, are elosely allied to the Huns, let us elothe them in stout armor and warm raiment, arm them with trusty bows and sharp blades, mount them on good horses, and set them to guard the frontier. Let them be under the eommand of a competent general, familiar with their eustoms, and able to develop their morale aeeording to the military traditions of this empire. Then, in the event of arduous military operations, let these men go to the front, while we keep baek our light war-ehariots and horse-arehes for work upon level ground.

【原文】

辑其心者，以陛下之明约将之。即有险阻，以此当之；平地通道，则以轻车材官制之。两军相为表里，各用其长技，衡加之以众，此万全之术也。

传曰："狂夫之言，而明主择焉。"臣错愚陋，昧死上狂言，唯陛下财择。

【今译】

的军心，用陛下的盟约约束他们。如果地势险要崎岖，就让他们来抵挡匈奴；如果地势平坦无碍，就用轻车步兵来对付匈奴。两军互相辅佐，各自发挥自己的长处，再加上人数众多，这是万无一失的方法。

《尚书大传》说："狂妄之人的话，圣明的君主加以采用。"臣晁错愚昧鄙陋，冒死进献狂妄之言，希望陛下裁夺择用。

We shall thus have, as it were, an outside and a lining; each division will be employed in the manner for which best adapted; our army will be increased, and the greatest safety of the greatest number will be achieved.

It is written, "The rash minister speaks, and the wise ruler decides." I am that rash minister, and with my life in my hand I dare to utter these words, humbly awaiting the decision of your Majesty.

(*Translated by Herbert A. Giles*)

论贵粟疏

【原文】

圣王在上而民不冻饥者，非能耕而食之，织而衣之也，为开其资财之道也。故尧、禹有九年之水，汤有七年之旱，而国亡捐瘠者，以畜积多而备先具也。今海内为一，土地、人民之众不避汤、禹，加以亡天灾数年之水旱，而畜积未及者，何也？地有遗利，民有余力，生谷之土未尽垦，山泽之利未尽出也，游食之民未尽归农也。民贫，则奸邪生。贫生于不足，不足生于不农，不农则不地著，不地著则离乡轻家。民如鸟兽，虽有高城深池，严法重刑，犹不能禁也。

【今译】

在圣明的君王统治下，百姓不挨饿受冻，并非是因为君王能亲自种粮食给他们吃，织布匹给他们穿，而是由于他能给百姓开辟获取财富的途径。所以尽管唐尧、夏禹之时有过九年的水灾，商汤之时有过七年的旱灾，但国家没有被饿死的人，这是因为贮藏积蓄的东西多，事先早已作好了准备。现在全国统一，土地之大、人口之多不亚于汤、禹之时，又没有连年的水旱天灾，但积蓄却不如汤、禹之时，这是什么道理呢？原因在于土地还有潜力，百姓还有余力，能长谷物的土地没有全部开垦，山林湖沼的资源尚未完全开发，游手好闲之人还没有全都回乡务农。百姓生活贫困了，就会去做邪恶的事。贫困是由于不富足，不富足是由于不务农，不务农就不能在一个地方定居下来，不能定居就会离开乡土，轻视家园。民众像鸟兽一样四处奔散，国家即使有高大的城墙和深险的护城河，严厉的法令和残酷的刑罚，还是不能禁止他们。

On the Value of Agriculture

"A bold peasantry, their country's pride."

When the people are prosperous under the sway of a wise ruler, familiar with the true principle of national wealth, it is not only the tiller of the soil who fills his belly, nor the weaver alone who has a suit of clothes to his back. In the days of Yao[1] there was a nine years' flood; in the days of T'ang, a seven years' drought. Yet the State suffered not, because of the preparations which had been made to meet such emergencies. Now, all within the boundary of the sea is under one scepter; and our country is wider and its inhabitants more numerous. For many years Heaven has sent upon us no visitation of flood or drought. Why then is our provision against emergency less? The fertility of the soil is not exhausted; and more labor is to be had. All cultivable land is not under tillage; neither have the hills and marshes reached their limit of production; neither has every available idler put his hand to the plough. Crime begins in poverty; poverty in insufficiency of food; insufficiency of food in neglect of agriculture. Without agriculture, man has no tie to bind him to the soil. Without such tie, he readily leaves his birth-place and his home. He is like unto the birds of the air or the beasts of the field. Neither battlemented cities, nor deep moats, nor harsh laws, nor cruel punishments, can subdue this roving spirit that is strong within him.

【原文】

夫寒之于衣，不待轻暖；饥之于食，不待甘旨；饥寒至身，不顾廉耻。人情，一日不再食则饥，终岁不制衣则寒。夫腹饥不得食，肤寒不得衣，虽慈母不能保其子，君安能以有其民哉！明主知其然也，故务民于农桑，薄赋敛，广畜积，以实仓廪，备水旱，故民可得而有也。

民者，在上所以牧之，趋利如水走下，四方亡择也。夫珠玉金银，饥不可食，寒不可衣，然而众贵之者，以上用之故也。其为物轻微易臧，在于把握，可以周海内而亡饥寒之患。此令臣轻背其主，而民易去其乡，盗贼有所劝，亡逃者得轻资也。粟米布帛，生于地，长

【今译】

人在寒冷的时候需要衣服，不会等到有了轻便又暖和的好衣服才穿；饥饿的时候需要食物，也不会等有了美味才吃；饥寒交迫，就顾不上廉耻了。人之常情是：一天不吃两顿饭就感到饥饿，一年到头不做衣服穿就会受冻。那么肚子饿了没东西吃，身上冷了没有衣服穿，即使是慈母也不能看守住她的儿子不离开，君主又怎能保证他的百姓不背叛呢！贤明的君主懂得这样的道理，所以让百姓从事农业生产，减轻他们的赋税，大量贮备粮食，以便充实仓库，防备水旱灾荒，因此也就能够拥有人民。

百姓呢，在于君主用什么办法来管理他们，他们追逐利益就像水往低处流一样，东南西北不加选择。珠玉金银这些东西，饿了不能当饭吃，冷了不能当衣穿，然而人们还是看重它，是因为君主用它作为资财的缘故。珠玉金银这些物品，轻便小巧，容易保存，便于拿在手里携带，可以周游全国而无饥寒的忧虑。这就会使臣子轻易地背弃他的君主，而百姓也随便地离开家乡，盗贼受到了鼓励，犯法逃亡的人有了便于携带的财物。粟米和布帛的原料生在地里，在一定的季节里成长，收获也需要人力，并非短时间内可以完成；几石重的粮食，一

He who is cold examines not the quality of cloth; he who is hungry tarries not for choice meats. When cold and hunger come upon mcn, honesty and shame dcpart. As man is constituted, he must eat twice daily, or hunger; he must wear clothcs, or be cold. And if the stomach cannot get food and the body clothes, the love of the fondest mother cannot keep her children at her side. How thcn should a sovereign keep his subjects gathered round him? Thc wise ruler knows this. Therefore he concentrates thc energies of his peoplc upon agriculture. He levies light taxes. He cxtends the system of grain storage, to provide for his subjects at times when their resources fail.

Man makes for grain, just as water flows of necessity in the direction of a lower level. Gold, silver, and jewels, are powerless to allay the pangs of hunger or to ward off the bitterness of cold; yet the masses esteem these things becausc of the demand for them among their bctters. Light and of limited bulk, a handful of such valuables will carry one through the world without fear either of cold or hunger. It is for these things that a minister plays false to his prince. It is for thesc things that a man lightly leaves his home—a stimulus to theft, the godsend of fugitives! Grain and cotton cloths come to us from the earth. They are produced in due season by the labor of man, and timc is needed for their growth. A few hundred-weight of such stuffs is more than an ordinary man can carry. They offer

【原文】

于时，聚于力，非可一日成也；数石之重，中人弗胜，不为奸邪所利，一日弗得而饥寒至。是故明君贵五谷而贱金玉。

今农夫五口之家，其服役者不下二人，其能耕者不过百亩，百亩之收不过百石。春耕夏耘，秋获冬藏，伐薪樵，治官府，给徭役；春不得避风尘，夏不得避暑热，秋不得避阴雨，冬不得避寒冻，四时之间亡日休息；又私自送往迎来，吊死问疾，养孤长幼在其中。勤苦如此，尚复被水旱之灾，急征暴虐，赋敛不时，朝令而暮改。当具有者半贾而卖，亡者取倍称之息，于是有卖田宅、鬻子孙以偿责者矣。而商贾大者积贮倍息，小者坐列贩卖，操其奇赢，日游都市，乘上之急，所卖必倍。故男不耕耘，女不蚕织，衣必文采，食必粱肉，亡农夫

【今译】

般人拿不动它，也不被奸邪的人所贪图，可是这些东西一天得不到就要挨饿受冻。因此贤明的君主重视五谷而轻视金玉。

现在农夫中的五口之家，能够支配的劳动力不少于两个人，能够耕种的土地不超过百亩，百亩的收成不超过百石。春天耕种夏天锄草，秋天收获冬天储藏，还得砍木柴，修理官府的房舍，服劳役；春天不能避风尘，夏天不能避暑热，秋天不能避阴雨，冬天不能避寒冻，一年四季没有一天能够休息的；自己又要交际往来，吊唁死者看望病人，抚养孤老养育幼儿。农民如此辛苦，还要遭受水旱灾害，官府的急征暴敛，随时摊派，早晨发命令，晚上又改变。交赋税的时候，有粮食的人半价贱卖后交赋税；没有粮食的人只好以加倍的利息借债纳税，于是就出现了卖田地房屋、卖儿卖女来还债的事情。而那些商人们大的囤积货物获取加倍的利息，小的坐在店铺里贩卖货物，获取赢利，他们每日都去集市游逛，趁官府急需货物的机会，所卖物品的价格就成倍抬高。所以商人家中男的不必耕地种田，女的不用养蚕织布，穿的必定是华美的衣服，吃的必定是上等的饭食，没有农民的劳苦，却

no inducement to crime; yet to be without them for a single day is to suffer both hunger and cold. Therefore the wise ruler holds grain in high honor, but degrades gold and jewels.

Now in every family of five there is an average of at least two capable husbandmen, who have probably not more than a few roods of land, the yield of which would perhaps be not more than a hundred piculs. In spring they have to plough; in summer, to weed; in autumn, to reap; in winter, to store; besides cutting fuel, repairing official residences, and other public services. Exposed, in spring, to wind and dust; in summer, to scorching heat; in autumn, to fog and rain; in winter, to cold and frost—from year's end to year's end they know not what leisure means. They have besides their own social obligations, visits of sympathy and condolence, the nourishment of orphans, of the aged, and of the young. Then, when flood and drought come upon them, already compassed round with toil and hardship, the government pressing harshly, collecting taxes at unsettled times, issuing orders in the morning to revoke them at night—those who have grain sell at half value, while those who have not borrow at exorbitant usury. Then paternal acres change hands; sons and grandsons are sold to pay debts; merchants make vast profits, and even petty tradesmen realize unheard-of gains. These take advantage of the necessities of the hour. Their men do not till; their women do not spin. Yet they all wear fine clothes and live on the fat of the land. They share not the hardships of the husbandman. Their wealth pours in from the four quarters of the earth. Vying in riches with kings and princes, in power they out-do the authorities themselves. Their watchword is gain. When they go abroad they are followed by long

【原文】

之苦，有阡陌之得。因其富厚，交通王侯，力过吏势，以利相倾；千里游敖，冠盖相望，乘坚策肥，履丝曳缟。此商人所以兼并农人，农人所以流亡者也。

今法律贱商人，商人已富贵矣；尊农夫，农夫已贫贱矣。故俗之所贵，主之所贱也；吏之所卑，法之所尊也。上下相反，好恶乖迕，而欲国富法立，不可得也。方今之务，莫若使民务农而已矣。欲民务农，在于贵粟；贵粟之道，在于使民以粟为赏罚。今募天下入粟县官，得以拜爵，得以除罪。如此，富人有爵，农民有钱，粟有所渫。夫能入粟以受爵，皆有余者也；取于有余，以供上用，则贫民之赋可损，

【今译】

占有农桑的收获。倚仗自己丰厚的钱财，与王侯结交，势力超过官吏，凭借资产相互倾轧；他们遨游各地，车乘络绎不绝，乘着坚固的车，赶着壮实的马，脚穿丝鞋，身披绸衣。这就是商人兼并农民土地，农民流亡在外的原因。

当今法律轻视商人，可实际上商人已经富裕而显贵了；法律尊重农民，而事实上农民却已经很贫苦微贱了。所以一般俗人所看重的，正是君主所轻贱的；一般官吏所鄙视的，正是法律所尊重的。上下相反，好恶颠倒，在这种情况下，要想使国家富裕，法令实施，那是不可能的。当今的迫切任务，没有比让百姓务农更为重要的了。而要想使百姓务农，关键在于抬高粮价；抬高粮价的办法，在于让百姓拿粮食来求赏或免罚。现在应该号召天下百姓交粮给官府，纳粮的可以封爵，也可以赎罪。这样，富人就可以得到爵位，农民就可以得到钱财，粮食就不会囤积而得到流通。那些能交纳粮食得到爵位的，都是富有

retinues of carriages and servants. They ride in fine coaches and drive sleek horses. They are shod in silk and robed in satin. Thus do they strip the husbandman bare of his goods; and thus it is that the husbandman is an outeast on the faee of the earth.

At present, the merchant is *de jure* an ignoble fellow; *de facto*, he is rich and great. The husbandman is, on the other hand, *de jure* an honorable man; *de facto*, a beggar. Thcory and practicc are at variance; and in the eonfusion whieh rcsults, national prosperity is out of the question. Now there would be nothing more presently advantageous than to concentratc the energies of our people upon agriculture; and the way to do this is to enhance the value of grain by making it an instrument of reward and punishment. Let rank be bestowcd in return for so mueh grain. Let penalties be eommuted for so mueh. By these means, rich men will enjoy honors, husbandmen will make money, and grain be distributed over the faee of the empire. Those who purehase rank in this way will purchase out of their surplus; and by handing this over to the Imperial exchequer, the burden of taxes may be lightened, one man's superfluity making up for the deficieney of another, to the infinitc advantagc of the people. Thc bencfits of this plan may in

【原文】

所谓损有馀补不足，令出而民利者也。顺于民心，所补者三：一曰主用足，二曰民赋少，三曰劝农功。今令民有车骑马一匹者，复卒三人。车骑者，天下武备也，故为复卒。神农之教曰："有石城十仞，汤池百步，带甲百万，而亡粟，弗能守也。"以是观之，粟者，王者大用，政之本务。令民入粟受爵至五大夫以上，乃复一人耳，此其与骑马之功相去远矣。爵者，上之所擅，出于口而亡穷；粟者，民之所种，生于地而不乏。夫得高爵与免罪，人之所甚欲也。使天下人入粟于边，以受爵免罪，不过三岁，塞下之粟必多矣。

【今译】

的人；从富有的人那里取得财物供官府用，那么贫苦百姓所担负的赋税就可以减轻，这就叫做拿富有的去补不足的，法令一颁布百姓就能够得益。依顺百姓心愿，有三个好处：一是君主需要的东西充足，二是百姓的赋税减少，三是鼓励从事农业生产。按现行法令，民间能输送一匹战马的，就可以免去三个人的兵役。战车、战马是国家战备所用，所以可以使人免除兵役。神农氏曾教导说："有七八丈高的石砌城墙，有百步宽的难以逾越的护城河，上百万全副武装的士兵，然而没有粮食，那是守不住的。"这样看来，粮食是君主最需要的财物，是国家最根本的政务。现在让百姓交粮买爵，封到五大夫以上，才免除一个人的兵役，这与输送一匹战马的功用相比差得太远了。赐封爵位，是皇上专有的权力，只要一开口，就可以无穷无尽地封给别人；粮食，是百姓种出来的，生长在土地中而不会缺乏。能够封爵与赎罪，是人们十分向往的。假如叫天下百姓都交纳粮食，用于边塞，以此换取爵位或赎罪，那么不用三年，边地粮食必定会多起来。

faet be enumerated under the following heads: (1) Sufficiency for Imperial purposes; (2) Light taxation; (3) Impetus given to agriculture. Then again, at present a horse and eart are taken in lieu of three men under eonseription for military service, on the ground that these are part of the equipment of war. But it was said of old, "And you have a stone rampart a hundred feet high, a moat a hundred feet broad, and a million of soldiers to guard the city, without food it shall be of no avail." From the above it is clear that grain is the basis of all government. Rather then bid men gain rank and escape conscription by payments of grain; this would be better far than payment in horses and earts. Rank ean be given at will by the mere fiat of the Emperor, and the supply is inexhaustible; grain ean be produced from the earth by man in endless measure; and rank and exemption from penalty are what men above all things desire. Therefore, I pray your Majesty, bestow rank and commute penalties for grain-payments; and within three years the empire will be amply supplied.

(*Translated by Herbert A. Giles*)

刘安

原道训（节选）

【原文】

夫道者，覆天载地，廓四方，柝八极，高不可际，深不可测，包裹天地，禀授无形；原流泉浡，冲而徐盈；混混滑滑，浊而徐清。故植之而塞于天地，横之而弥于四海，施之无穷而无所朝夕，舒之幎于六合，卷之不盈于一握。约而能张，幽而能明，弱而能强，柔而能刚。横四维而含阴阳，纮宇宙而章三光。甚淖而滒，甚纤而微。山以之高，渊以之深，兽以之走，鸟以之飞，日月以之明，星历以之行，麟以之游，凤以之翔。

【今译】

道，覆盖天承载地，拓展至四面八方，高得不可触顶，深得无法测量，它包裹着天地，在无形中给予万物；像泉水从源头处喷涌出来，水流下来，慢慢灌满一些空地；泥泞滑溜的地方，逐渐由浊变清。所以，如果把道竖立起来就能充塞天地，如果把它平放着就能遍布四海，它延续的时间没有穷尽，无法用朝夕来计算；它舒展开来能覆盖天地四方，收缩卷起却又不满一握。如果把它捆缚起来它能够张开，如果把它放到幽暗之处它能显得明亮，弱小的时候能强大，柔软的时候能刚强。它横通四方而包含着阴阳，维系宇宙而彰显日月星辰。它柔和而黏稠，纤小而细微。因此，山凭借它才高耸，渊凭借它才深邃，兽凭借它才奔走，鸟凭借它才飞翔，日月凭借它才光亮，星辰凭借它才运行，麒麟凭借它才出游，凤凰凭借它才翱翔。

Liu An

On the Nature of Tao (excerpt)

Tao roofs over the sky and is the foundation of the earth; it extends north, south, east, and west, stretching to the eight extreme points in those directions. Its height is beyond reach and its depth is unfathomable; it enfolds both the sky and the earth, and produces things which had been formless. It is like the flow of a spring, which starts bubbling up from nothing but gradually forms a volume of rushing muddy water which again gradually becomes clear. Therefore, if set vertically, it will block all the space between the sky and the earth; if set laterally, it will touch the shores of the Four Seas; inexhaustible by use, it knows neither the fullness of morning nor the decay of night; dispersed, it fills space; compressed, it is scarce a handful; scant, it can be ample; dark, it can be light; weak, it can be strong; soft, it can be hard. Though open on all sides, it contains the two cosmogonical Principles; it binds up the universe, while making manifest the sun, moon, and stars; it is thick as clay, and yet is watery; it is infinitesimally fine, and yet it can be subdivided; it makes mountains rise high and valleys sink low; it makes beasts to walk, birds to fly, the sun and moon to shine, the stars to move, the unicorn to come forth, and the phoenix to hover above us.

【原文】

泰古二皇，得道之柄，立于中央，神与化游，以抚四方。是故能天运地滞，轮转而无废，水流而不止，与万物终始。……

【今译】

远古伏羲、神农，掌握道的根本，立身于天地中央，精神与自然造化融合，以此安抚天下四方。所以使天能运行，地能静凝，轮回而不息。……

The first two Emperors of old (3rd millennium BC) obtained control of Tao, and established themselves in the center of all things (China), and by their divine influence brought about civilization and gave peace to the world. Thus, the sky duly turned round, while the earth stood still, and the wheel of human life revolved without ceasing.

(*Translated by Herbert A. Giles*)

览冥训（节选）

【原文】

昔者，师旷奏白雪之音，而神物为之下降，风雨暴至，平公癃病，晋国赤地。庶女叫天，雷电下击，景公台陨，支体伤折，海水大出。夫瞽师、庶女，位贱尚葈，权轻飞羽。然而专精厉意，委务积神，上通九天，激厉至精。由此观之，上天之诛也，虽在圹虚幽间，辽远隐匿，重袭石室，界障险阻，其无所逃之亦明矣。

【今译】

以前，师旷不得已而为晋平公演奏乐曲《白雪》，神物玄鹤被感召而从天降临，狂风暴雨骤然发作，晋平公因此得了重病，晋国变为不毛之地。齐国一位卑贱的寡妇含冤呼告苍天，引起雷鸣电闪，并击中齐景公的高台楼阁，砸伤景公的肢体，海水也随之汹涌漫溢到陆地上。这些乐师、寡妇的地位比葈耳这样的陋劣之材还低，权力比羽毛还轻。但是由于精神专一，意志坚定，精力集中，全神贯注，所以最终上通九天，以精诚感动神灵。由此看来，当上天要惩罚那些逆天意的人时，即使这些人身处空旷幽僻之地，远远地躲藏起来，或钻入层层重叠的石室里，相隔层层屏障险阻，也无法逃避上天的惩罚，这是再清楚不过的了。

Does God Intervene? (excerpt)

Of old, Shih K'uang played before the Court a piece entitled "White Snow," the action of which was rendered by a cast of supernatural beings.[1] Down came a storm of wind and rain; the Duke was stricken with old age, while afterwards his State became red with drought. When a woman of the people cried aloud her wrongs to God, thunder and lightning came down and struck the palace of the Duke to ruins, crushing his Highness and breaking his limbs, followed by the sea flooding over the whole.[2] The blind musician and the woman from the people occupied a very lowly position, below even that of the humblest official. Nevertheless, with great earnestness they put aside their personal occupations and devoted themselves to worshipping the saints, so that their devotion became known and received encouragement in heaven above. Thus it is clear that no matter whether isolated in the wilds, or in concealment at a distance, or in a double-walled stone house, or separated by intervening obstacles and dangers, there is no place to which a man can escape from God.

【原文】

武王伐纣，渡于孟津，阳侯之波，逆流而击，疾风晦冥，人马不相见。于是武王左操黄钺，右秉白旄，瞋目而撝之曰："余任天下，谁敢害吾意者！"于是，风济而波罢。鲁阳公与韩构难，战酣日暮，援戈而撝之，日为之反三舍。夫全性保真，不亏其身，遭急迫难，精通于天。若乃未始出其宗者，何为而不成！

【今译】

周武王讨伐纣王，在孟津渡黄河时，波神阳侯掀起大浪，波浪迎面扑卷过来，狂风大作，天昏地暗，人马都看不清楚。这时周武王左手握着黄钺，右手拿着军旗，瞪大眼睛挥手呵斥道："我担负着天下，谁敢违逆我的意志！"于是风平浪静。鲁阳公与韩国结仇交战，战斗正难分难解，太阳就要西沉之时，鲁阳公挥戈大喝，太阳竟为之退回九十里。那些保全纯真天性、不损害本性的人，当处危难时刻，他的精诚就能上通天帝而得到助佑。如果一个人从未曾偏离道的根本，那么做什么事都会成功！

When our Martial King (1122 BC) attacked the tyrant Shou, while crossing the river at the ford of Mêng, the spirit of the wicked Marquis (who had been drowned there) stirred up the waves to fury against him, with a bitter wind and so black a pall of darkness that men and horses could not see one another. Then the Martial King, grasping in his left hand a golden halberd and in his right hand a white-tasseled staff, shook them at the river, saying, "I am the ruler of all under the sky; who dares to cross my path?" Thereupon, the wind fell and the waves were stilled. The Duke of the Lu State had become involved in trouble with the Han State, and a battle was raging fiercely when the sun began to set. The Duke seized his spear and shook it at the sun, which forthwith went back three zodiacal spaces in the heavens. Thus, if we keep our physical nature complete, and preserve our spirituality, this will allow of no injury to the body. In the hour of danger or difficulty, such earnestness will appeal to God; and if there has been no departure from the great archetype,[3] what is there which cannot be accomplished?

(*Translated by Herbert A. Giles*)

司马相如

长门赋

【原文】

孝武皇帝陈皇后，时得幸，颇妒。别在长门宫，愁闷悲思。闻蜀郡成都司马相如天下工为文，奉黄金百斤为相如、文君取酒，因于解悲愁之辞。而相如为文以悟主上，陈皇后复得亲幸。其辞曰：

夫何一佳人兮，
步逍遥以自虞。
魂逾佚而不反兮，
形枯槁而独居。
言我朝往而暮来兮，
饮食乐而忘人。

【今译】

汉武帝的陈皇后经常得到宠爱，又善妒。失宠后幽居长门宫，整日忧愁苦闷、悲哀思念。听说蜀郡成都的司马相如擅长写文章，于是奉上百斤黄金给司马相如和卓文君买酒，为的是让司马相如作解悲愁的辞赋。司马相如作了这篇《长门赋》来提醒皇上，陈皇后又得到了宠幸。赋辞如下：

怎样美丽的一位女子啊，
缓步慢行独自思量。
失魂落魄不能自已啊，
形容枯槁孤单一人。
答应我常来看望啊，
饮酒作乐却忘了故人。

Tall Gate Palace[1]

The Filial Emperor Wu's Empress Ch'en at that time had obtained the emperor's favor. But she was rather jealous, and he had her sequestered in the Tall Gate Palace. She beeame sorrowful and morose. When she heard that Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju of Ch'eng-tu in Shu eommandery was the most skillful writer in the empire, she offered one hundred catties of gold for Hsiang-ju and Wen-ehün[2] to obtain wine, and she entrusted him with writing[3] a eomposition that would relieve her sorrow. Hsiang-ju wrote a eomposition designed to open up the emperor's mind, and Empress Ch'en again obtained his personal favor.[4]

Alas! How beautiful a lady![5]
Pacing, wandering, deep in thought.[6]
Her soul has vanished never to return;[7]
And her body, wasted and withered, abides alone.
He promised, "I must go at dawn but shall return at dusk."
But in his feasting and drinking he forgot me.

【原文】

心慊移而不省故兮，
交得意而相亲。

伊予志之慢愚兮，
怀贞悫之欢心。
愿赐问而自进兮，
得尚君之玉音。
奉虚言而望诚兮，
期城南之离宫。
修薄具而自设兮，
君曾不肯乎幸临。

廓独潜而专精兮，
天漂漂而疾风。
登兰台而遥望兮，
神怳怳而外淫。
浮云郁而四塞兮，
天窈窈而昼阴。
雷殷殷而响起兮，
声象君之车音。
飘风回而起闺兮，
举帷幄之襜襜。
桂树交而相纷兮，
芳酷烈之訚訚。
孔雀集而相存兮，
玄猿啸而长吟。
翡翠胁翼而来萃兮，
鸾凤翔而北南。

【今译】

心已经移情而不再念故人啊，
又结交了称心如意的人相恋。

我的心智太迟钝啊，
自以为欢爱靠得住。
期待得到郎君的垂问前去觐见啊，
能够侍奉左右聆听君王的声音。
得到谎言却宁愿相信他的诚意啊，
在城南的长门宫中盼望着。
置办了菲薄的酒席啊，
君王却不肯光临。

独自深居而用心专一啊，
风声凛凛而晨寒相侵。
登上兰台遥望郎君啊，
精神恍惚如梦魂游荡。
浮云从四方涌来啊，
长空骤变而天气骤阴。
一连串沉重的雷声响起啊，
像郎君的车群的声音。
风飒飒而来吹开闺中小门啊，
吹动床上帷帐飘然而起。
桂树交错重叠啊，
传来浓烈的香气。
孔雀纷纷来朝啊，
猿猴长啸而哀吟。
翡翠鸟收敛翅膀降落聚集啊，
鸾鸟和凤凰南北自由飞翔。

His heart, displeased and shifting elsewhere, ignores an old favorite;[8]
He now consorts with one who suits him better.

Though my mind be rash and silly,
My love shall ever remain faithful and true.[9]
I wish for an interview that I may present myself,[10]
And thus honor my lord's precious command.
I received his empty promise that I thought sincere:
I awaited him in the detached palace south of the wall.[11]
I prepared humble fare and served it myself,
But my lord never deigned to favor me with his presence.

Dispirited, alone and secluded, my mind focuses on one thing.[12]
Across the sky, whirling and twirling, a swift wind blows.[13]
I ascend the Magnolia Tower and look into the distance;[14]
My spirit, troubled and confused, spills out of my body.
Floating clouds gather and everywhere block the view;
The sky is black, and the day darkens.
The droning din of thunder begins to resound;
It reminds me of the rumbling of my lord's carriage.
A whirlwind blows round my chamber,
Lifting the curtains, which flap and flutter.
Cinnamon trees, branches intertwined and thickly tangled,
Exude a fragrance pungent and strong.
Peacocks flock together as if paying courtesy calls;
Black gibbons shriek and howl.
Kingfishers fold their wings and snuggle together;
Only the phoenixes soar off alone, one north, one south.[15]

【原文】	【今译】
心凭噫而不舒兮，	心闷气满不舒畅啊，
邪气壮而攻中。	邪气盛而攻心。
下兰台而周览兮，	走下兰台四处望啊，
步从容于深宫。	漫步于深宫。
正殿块以造天兮，	宫殿屹立高达上天啊，
郁并起而穹崇。	雄伟壮观。
间徙倚于东厢兮，	有时在东厢各处徘徊啊，
观夫靡靡而无穷。	观赏华丽纤美的景物。
挤玉户以撼金铺兮，	挤开殿门弄响金属的门饰啊，
声噌吰而似钟音。	发出像钟一样的声音。
刻木兰以为榱兮，	用木兰雕刻的椽啊，
饰文杏以为梁。	用文杏装潢的梁。
罗丰茸之游树兮，	梁上的短柱繁饰密集啊，
离楼梧而相撑。	梁上的斜木交错支撑。
施瑰木之欂栌兮，	用瑰奇之木做成斗拱啊，
委参差以槺梁。	架起空阔的厅堂。
时仿佛以物类兮，	经常不知道拿什么比喻这些宫殿啊，
象积石之将将。	就好像那积石山一样高峻。
五色炫以相曜兮，	色彩缤纷耀眼啊，
烂耀耀而成光。	灿烂发出奇光。
致错石之瓴甓兮，	密实铺就的砖瓦啊，
象瑇瑁之文章。	像玳瑁背上的花纹。
张罗绮之幔帷兮，	床上带花纹的帷幔常打开啊，
垂楚组之连纲。	玉带始终垂向两旁。
抚柱楣以从容兮，	深情地抚摸着玉柱啊，
览曲台之央央。	看着宏伟高大的曲台宫。
白鹤噭以哀号兮，	白鹤哀哀长鸣啊，
孤雌跱于枯杨。	失偶的雌鸟困居在枯杨中。

My heart is choked with sorrow—I cannot release it;
Foul humors fiercely attack my innards.
I descend the Magnolia Tower and look all around;
Languidly I walk through the deep palace recesses.
The main hall solitarily stretches to the sky,
Massively rising and arching upward.
I linger for a while in the eastern chamber,
Gazing at its endless delicate beauty.
I push the jade inlaid door, shake the golden knocker;
It peals and chimes like clangoring bells.
Carved magnolia serves for the beams,
Engraved ginko wood for the rafters.[16]
Standing in a row, lush and luxuriant, are floating uprights,[17]
Latticed and interlaced, braced together.
Adorning them are brackets of rare timber,[18]
Bunched long and short, hollow inside.[19]
At times they vaguely resemble natural objects,[20]
Just like the lofty heights of Piled Boulders.[21]
Their multicolored glitter coruscates back and forth,
Bright and dazzling, shooting beams of light.
The compactly laid mosaic tiles of assorted stones,[22]
Resemble the intricate patterns of tortoise shells.
I open the curtains made of silk and gauze,
Lower the sash braided with Ch'u cord.
Languidly I stroke the door lintel,
Gaze at Winding Terrace, spacious and wide.[23]
A white crane calls plaintively—
She roosts alone in a withered willow.

【原文】

日黄昏而望绝兮，
怅独托于空堂。
悬明月以自照兮，
徂清夜于洞房。
援雅琴以变调兮，
奏愁思之不可长。
案流徵以却转兮，
声幼妙而复扬。
贯历览其中操兮，
意慷慨而自卬。
左右悲而垂泪兮，
涕流离而从横。
舒息悒而增欷兮，
蹝履起而彷徨。
揄长袂以自翳兮，
数昔日之諐殃。
无面目之可显兮，
遂颓思而就床。
抟芬若以为枕兮，
席荃兰而茝香。

忽寝寐而梦想兮，
魄若君之在旁。
惕寤觉而无见兮，
魂迋迋若有亡。
众鸡鸣而愁予兮，
起视月之精光。

【今译】

白天黄昏都充满绝望啊，
惆怅独自托身于空堂。
只有天上的明月照着我啊，
在幽深的内室中度过漫漫长夜。
拿出雅琴弹奏出不同于常调的曲调啊，
抒发愁思难遣地久天长。
按下琴弦转换曲调啊，
声音轻细而又上扬。
琴曲连贯起来可以看出我内心的情操啊，
情绪激昂而自我激励。
左右的宫女闻声垂泪啊，
泣声织成一片凄凉。
含悲痛而唏嘘啊，
已起身却再彷徨。
举衣袖遮住满脸的泪水啊，
万分懊悔昔日的过失。
没有面目再见人啊，
于是颓然上床。
用香草做成的枕头啊，
用香兰做成的床席。

忽然夜里做梦啊，
隐约觉得郎君在我身旁。
蓦然惊醒一切都是虚幻啊，
魂魄惶惶若有所失。
群鸡鸣叫我却发愁啊，
起身独自对着月光。

As the day turns to dusk I lose all hope;
Dejected and alone I find retreat in an empty hall.
The moon suspended above shines down on me;
I pass the still night in my cavernous room.
Grasping my elegant zither I change the mode:[24]
I play a tune of unbearable sadness.
As I turn back to follow the "Flowing *Chih*,"[25]
The music becomes faint, then rises again.
Running through the melodies looking for a proper tune,[26]

My feelings become ever more fervid and intense.
My attendants sadly weep;
Tears flow in streams down their faces.
Heaving long sighs, sobbing repeatedly,
I slip into my sandals, get up, and pace about.
I pull my long sleeves to cover myself,
And recount the misdeeds of my past.
Lacking the face to show myself,
Downcast, I go to bed.[27]
I mold sweet pollia into a pillow;
My mat is fragrant with iris, thoroughwort, and angelica.

Suddenly while in bed asleep I begin to dream;
My soul feels as if it is by my lord's side.
I awaken in alarm and see nothing;
My soul is terror-stricken as if it had lost something.
The crowing of the many cocks saddens me;
I get up and look at the moon's gleaming light.

【原文】

观众星之行列兮，
毕昴出于东方。
望中庭之蔼蔼兮，
若季秋之降霜。
夜曼曼其若岁兮，
怀郁郁其不可再更。

澹偃蹇而待曙兮，
荒亭亭而复明。
妾人窃自悲兮，
究年岁而不敢忘。

【今译】

看那星辰密密排列啊，
毕星和昴星从东方升起。
庭院中月光昏暗啊，
像深秋降下的寒霜。
夜漫漫度日如年啊，
愁苦郁结不散，过去的日子不可能回来。

夜不能寐而伫立等待黎明啊，
乍明复暗如此之长。
我唯有独自悲伤啊，
年年岁岁终不敢忘。

I view the stars arranged neatly in the sky:
Net and Mane appear in the east.[28]
I gaze toward the fading moonlight in the courtyard:
It is as if frost were falling in late autumn.
The night drags on and on—I feel a year has passed.
My grief bccomes hcavier—I eannot endure it again.

Trembling, bent over, I await thc dawn—
First dim and remote it becomes bright again.
A woman sueh as I can only secretly commiserate with herself;
Yet I dare not forget him, even till the end of my days.

(*Translated by David R. Knechtges*)

上书谏猎

【原文】

相如从上至长杨猎。是时天子方好自击熊豕，驰逐野兽。相如因上疏谏曰：

臣闻物有同类而殊能者，故力称乌获，捷言庆忌，勇期贲、育。臣之愚，窃以为人诚有之，兽亦宜然。今陛下好陵阻险、射猛兽，卒然遇轶材之兽，骇不存之地，犯属车之清尘，舆不及还辕，人不暇施巧，虽有乌获、逢蒙之伎，力不得用，枯木朽株尽为难矣。是胡越起于毂下，而羌夷接轸也，岂不殆哉！虽万全而无患，然本非天子所宜近也。

【今译】

司马相如跟随皇上到长杨宫去打猎。当时，皇上正喜欢亲自猎杀熊和野猪，策马追逐野兽。相如因此上疏加以劝谏道：

臣听说万物中有的虽是同类而能力却不同，所以说到力大就称道乌获，谈到速度快就推崇庆忌，说到勇猛必称孟贲和夏育。臣愚昧，自以为人有这种情况，兽也应该有这种情况。现在陛下喜欢登险峻难行之处，射猎猛兽，要是突然遇到特别凶猛的野兽，它们因无藏身之地而惊起，冒犯了圣驾车骑的正常前进，车子来不及掉头，人来不及应变，纵然有乌获和逢蒙的功力，也发挥不出来，枯树朽枝全都成了障碍。这就像胡人越人从车轮下蹿出，羌人夷人紧跟在车子后面，岂不危险啊！即使是绝对安全不会有危险，但这本来也不是天子应该接近的地方。

Againt Hunting

I had accompanied the Imperial hunt to Ch'ang-yang. At that time His Majesty (Wu Ti, 2nd century BC) was an ardent follower of the chase, and loved to slaughter bears and wild boars with his own hands. Therefore I handed in the following Memorial:

May it please your Majesty. I have heard that although the human race is comprised under one class, the capabilities of each individual are widely different. Thus we praise the strength of this man, the swiftness of that, and the courage of a third. And I venture to believe that what is true of us in this respect is equally true of the brute creation. Now your Majesty enjoys laying low the fierce quarry in some close mountain pass. But one day there will come a beast, more terrible than the rest, driven from its lair; and then disaster will overtake the Imperial equipage. There will be no means of escape, no time to do anything, no scope for the utmost skill or strength, over the rotten branches and decaying trunks which help to complete the disorder. The Huns rising up under your Majesty's chariot-wheels, the barbarians of the west clinging on behind, would hardly be worse than this. And even if, in every case, actual injury is avoided, still this is not a fitting scene for the presence of the Son of Heaven.

【原文】

且夫清道而后行，中路而驰，犹时有衔橛之变，况乎涉丰草，骋丘墟，前有利兽之乐，而内无存变之意，其为害也不亦难矣！夫轻万乘之重不以为安，而乐出万有一危之涂以为娱，臣窃为陛下不取也。盖闻明者远见于未萌，而智者避危于无形。祸固多藏于隐微，而发于人所忽者也。故鄙谚曰："家累千金，坐不垂堂。"此言虽小，可以喻大。臣愿陛下留意幸察！

【今译】

况且清扫了道路而后行车，驰骋在大路中间，尚且不时会出现车马倾覆的危险，更何况在茂密的草丛里穿行，在小丘土堆上奔驰！前面有猎获野兽的快乐在引诱，心里却没有应付事故的准备，这样造成祸害也就不难了。看轻君王的高贵地位，不以此为安逸，却乐于到可能发生危险的道路上去并以此为乐，臣认为陛下这样做不可取。凡是聪明的人在事端尚未萌生时就能预见到，智慧之人能在祸害还未形成之前就避开它。祸患原本多半都隐藏在隐蔽之处，发生在人们疏忽之时。所以谚语说："家中积累千金，不坐在靠近屋檐下的地方。"这句话虽然说的是小事，但却可以用来说明大事。臣希望陛下留意明察！

Besides, even on smooth ground and on a beaten track there is always risk of accident—a broken rein or a loose pin; how much more so in the jungle or on the rough mountain-side, where, with the pleasure of the chase ahead and no thought of danger within, misfortune easily comes? To neglect the affairs of a mighty empire and to find no peaceful occupation therein, but to seek for pleasure in the chase, never wholly without peril—this is what in my opinion your Majesty should not do. The clear of vision discern coming events before they actually loom in sight; the wise in counsel avoid dangers before they definitely assume a shape. Misfortunes often lie concealed in trifles, and burst forth when least expected. Hence the vulgar saying, *He who has piled up a thousand ounces of gold, should not sit with chair overhanging the dais*; which proverb, though trivial in itself, may be used in illustration of great matters. I trust that your Majesty will deign to reflect hereon.

(*Translated by Herbert A. Giles*)

枚乘

七发

【原文】

楚太子有疾，而吴客往问之，曰："伏闻太子玉体不安，亦少间乎？"太子曰："惫，谨谢客。"客因称曰："今时天下安宁，四宇和平。太子方富于年。意者久耽安乐，日夜无极，邪气袭逆，中若结轖。纷屯澹淡，嘘唏烦酲；惕惕怵怵，卧不得瞑；虚中重听，恶闻人声；精神越渫，百病咸生；聪明眩曜，悦怒不平；久执不废，大命乃倾。太子岂有是乎？"太子曰："谨谢客，赖君之力，时时有之，然未至于是也。"

客曰："今夫贵人之子，必宫居而闺处，内有保母，外有傅父，欲交无所。饮食则温淳甘脆，腥醲肥厚。衣裳则杂遝曼暖，燂烁热暑。

【今译】

楚国太子有病，有一位吴国客人去问候他，说："听说太子玉体欠安，稍微好点了吗？"太子说："还是疲惫得很，谢谢你的关心。"吴客趁机进言道："如今天下安宁，四方太平。太子正在少壮之年，料想是您长期贪图安乐、日夜没有节制，邪气侵身，在体内凝结堵塞。致使心神不安，烦躁叹息，像喝醉了酒似的；常常心惊肉跳，睡不安宁；体虚耳背，厌恶人声；精神涣散，好像百病皆生；耳聋眼花，喜怒无常；久病缠身，性命便有危险。太子是否有这些症状呢？"太子说："谢谢你，依靠国君，我能享受富贵，以至于经常得此病症，但还没有到你所说的这种地步。"

吴客说："现在那些富贵子弟，一定是住在深宫内院，内有照料日常生活的宫女，外有负责教育辅导的师傅，想与其他人交往也不可

The Seven Stimuli

The prince[1] of Ch'u was ill and a guest from Wu went to inquire of him. The guest said, "I have heard that your precious body has been suffering discomfort. Are you any better?"[2] The prince said, "I am exhausted. I respectfully thank you for your concern." The guest then took the opportunity to say, "Now the empire is tranquil, the world is peaceful. You have a wealth of years ahead of you, but you have long been indulging in pleasures which you pursue day and night without limit. Foul humors have taken an inverted course so that inside there seems to be an obstruction. You shudder and throb, wheeze and suffer hangovers. You quake and tremble; you lie down but cannot sleep. You are empty inside, hear double, and hate human noises. Your vital essence has seeped out and a hundred diseases may grow. Your vision and hearing are dulled, your temper is uneven. If you suffer long without cure your life will come to an end. Could this be the case with you?" The prince said, "I respectfully thank you, but as long as I rely upon the strength of my Lord, though from time to time I suffer discomfort, it has not reached the extent that you describe."

The guest said, "At present a nobleman's son is required to live in the palace and abide in the inner apartments. Within is his governess, without is his tutor; he has no chance to mix with people. When he drinks and eats it is the warm and tasty, the sweet and crisp. His meat is fat, his wine is strong. His clothes are numerous, delicate and warm: they make him hot and feverish. Even something as strong as metal and stone melts and

【原文】

虽有金石之坚，犹将销铄而挺解也！况其在筋骨之间乎哉？故曰：纵耳目之欲，恣支体之安者，伤血脉之和。且夫出舆入辇，命曰蹶痿之机；洞房清宫，命曰寒热之媒；皓齿蛾眉，命曰伐性之斧；甘脆肥醲，命曰腐肠之药。今太子肤色靡曼，四支委随，筋骨挺解，血脉淫濯，手足堕窳。越女侍前，齐姬奉后，往来游宴，纵恣于曲房隐间之中。此甘餐毒药，戏猛兽之爪牙也。所从来者至深远，淹滞永久而不废，虽令扁鹊治内，巫咸治外，尚何及哉！今如太子之病者，独宜世之君子，博见强识，承间语事，变度易意，常无离侧，以为羽翼。淹沉之乐，浩唐之心，遁佚之志，其奚由至哉！”太子曰：“诺，病已，请事此言。”

【今译】

能。吃的是滋味淳厚的美味佳肴和精肉烈酒。穿着是层层叠叠的轻软暖和的衣服。这样，即使像金石一样坚硬，也会熔化松散啊！更何况筋骨组成的人呢？所以说：放纵耳目的嗜欲，恣任肢体的安逸，就会损害血脉的和畅。况且出入都乘坐车子，就容易患麻痹瘫痪的疾病；常住幽深清凉的宫室，就容易患伤寒或中暑；美女姿色，就是摧残性命的利斧；美味佳肴和精肉烈酒，就是腐蚀肠胃的毒药。现在太子容色萎靡，四肢乏软，筋骨松散，血脉不畅，手脚无力。前有越国的美女，后有齐国的佳人，往来游玩吃喝，在幽深的密室里纵情取乐。这简直是把毒药当作美餐、在猛兽的坚牙利爪下戏耍啊。这样的生活影响已经很深远，如果再长时间地拖延不改，那么即使让扁鹊来为您治疗体内的疾病，让巫咸来为您祈祷，又怎么来得及啊！现在像太子这样的病情，最好是请世上见识广博的君子，找机会给您谈论外界的事物，以改变您的生活方式和情趣，经常让他们在您的身旁，来辅佐您。那么您沉溺的乐趣，荒唐的心思，放纵的欲望，还能从哪里来呢！”太子说：“好，病好后，就照你的话去做。”

crumbles; is this not more the case with muscles and bones? Therefore, it is said, 'To give free rein to the desires of the ears and eyes and indulge in bodily comfort, harms the harmony of the blood and veins.' To ride a carriage outside the palace and a sedan chair inside is called the 'trigger of rheumatism and paralysis.'[3] A cavernous room, a cool palace are called the 'matchmakers for chills and fevers.' Gleaming teeth and moth-eyebrows are called the 'axes which cut down vitality,'[4] the sweet, crisp, fat, and rich foods are called the 'poisons which rot the stomach.'[5] At present your complexion is delicate, your four limbs are wobbly, your muscles and bones are stiff and rigid, your veins are clogged, your hands and feet are weak. Girls from Yüeh serve you in the front, beauties from Ch'i attend you to the rear. You are constantly banqueting and indulging your desires in the inner apartments and secluded chambers. This is to eat poison as candy and play in the claws and fangs of savage beasts. The cause reaches deep and far. If it endures for long without stopping, even if Pien Ch'üeh[6] were to treat the inside and the Shaman Hsien[7] the outside, how could they succeed? For one with an illness like yours, all he needs is a gentleman of broad learning and good memory, who will take time to discuss affairs, who will change your attitude and alter your ideas, who will never leave your side, and will be your guiding wings. Excessive pleasure, unrestrained feelings, and idle inclinations, how can they occur?" The prince said, "I agree. When my illness is over I will practice your advice."[8]

大中华文库

【原文】

客曰："今太子之病，可无药石针刺灸疗而已，可以要言妙道说而去也。不欲闻之乎？"太子曰："仆愿闻之。"

客曰："龙门之桐，高百尺而无枝，中郁结之轮菌，根扶疏以分离；上有千仞之峰，下临百丈之溪；湍流溯波，又澹淡之，其根半死半生。冬则烈风漂霰飞雪之所激也，夏则雷霆霹雳之所感也。朝则鹂黄鳱鴠鸣焉，暮则羁雌迷鸟宿焉。独鹄晨号乎其上，鹍鸡哀鸣翔乎其下。于是背秋涉冬，使琴挚斫斩以为琴，野茧之丝以为弦，孤子之钩以为隐，九寡之珥以为约；使师堂操《畅》，伯子牙为之歌，歌曰：

麦秀蕲兮雉朝飞，
向虚壑兮背槁槐，
依绝区兮临回溪。

【今译】

吴客说："现在太子的病，可以不用服药、砭石、针刺、灸疗的办法而治好，可以用中肯的言论、精妙的道理劝说而消除。您不想听听这样的话吗？"太子说："我愿意听。"

吴客说："龙门山上的桐树，高达百尺却不分杈，树干中积聚了很多盘曲的纹路，树根在土壤中向四周延伸扩展；上有千仞的高峰，下临百丈的深涧；湍急的逆流冲击着它，它的根一半已死一半还活着。冬天寒风飞雪侵凌它，夏天闪电霹雳撼击它。早上有黄鹂鳱鴠在它上面鸣叫，傍晚则有失偶的雌鸟和迷路的鸟雀在它上面栖息。孤独的黄鹄清晨在树上啼叫，鹍鸡在树下飞翔哀鸣。在这样的环境中秋去冬来长成材，被琴挚砍伐后制成琴，用野生的茧丝制成弦，用孤儿的带钩做装饰，用养了九个孩子的寡妇的耳环制成琴徽；让师堂弹奏名为《畅》的琴曲，让伯牙来演唱，歌词是：麦子抽穗出芒时，野鸡在早晨飞翔，飞向空谷离开枯槁的槐树，依傍在险峻之处啊，下临曲折的溪涧。飞鸟听到歌声，敛翅不再飞去；野兽听到歌声，垂耳不再行走；爬虫、

The guest said, "Your illness cannot be cured with drugs, acupuncture, or cauterization. It can only be persuaded away with essential words and marvelous doctrines. Do you wish to hear them?" The prince said, "I would like to hear them."

The guest said, "The pawlonia trees of Lung-men are bare of branches to a height of one hundred feet. Their trunks are gnarled and twisted, their roots spread out and divide. Above is a thousand jen peak, below lies a hundred *chang* flume. A rapid current, eddying waves, throbs and pulsates there. The roots are half dead, half alive. In winter violent winds, whirling sleet, and flying snow lash them; in summer rolls of thunder shake them. At dawn the oriole and *han-tan* sing there; at dusk a wandering hen and lost bird sleep there. A lone swan screams at daybreak from the top; a jungle pheasant cries mournfully as it soars below. Then, as the season turns its back on fall and edges into winter, the master of the flute Chih,[9] is ordered to cut one for a lute; wild silkworm thread is used for the strings. An orphan's sash pin serves as the ornament, a grieving widow's earrings[10] act as the stops. Master T'ang plays the tune Ch'ang,[11] Po Ya[12] sings a song. The song goes:

The wheat is ripe and tasseled,
The pheasant flies at dawn,
Toward the empty hollow,
Away from the withered acacia;
He remains in the remote regions,
Rests near a winding stream.

【原文】

飞鸟闻之，翕翼而不能去；野兽闻之，垂耳而不能行；蚑蟜蝼蚁闻之，拄喙而不能前。此亦天下之至悲也，太子能强起听之乎？”太子曰：“仆病，未能也。”

客曰：“犓牛之腴，菜以笋蒲，肥狗之和，冒以山肤。楚苗之食，安胡之饭，抟之不解，一啜而散。于是使伊尹煎熬，易牙调和。熊蹯之臑，勺药之酱；薄耆之炙，鲜鲤之鲙；秋黄之苏，白露之茹；兰英之酒，酌以涤口；山梁之餐，豢豹之胎；小饭大歠，如汤沃雪。此亦天下之至美也，太子能强起尝之乎？”太子曰：“仆病，未能也。”

客曰：“钟岱之牡，齿至之车，前似飞鸟，后类距虚。穱麦服处，躁中烦外。羁坚辔，附易路。于是伯乐相其前后，王良、造父为之御，秦缺、楼季为之右。此两人者，马佚能止之，车覆能起之。于是使射

【今译】

蝼蛄、蚂蚁听到歌声，张着嘴巴不能向前。这是天下最为感伤的音乐，太子勉强能起身来听吗？”太子说：“我病了，不能去听啊。”

吴客说：“小牛腹部的熟肉，用竹笋和香蒲来拌和，用肥狗肉熬的汤来调和，再铺上石耳菜。用楚地苗山的稻米或用菰米做饭，这种米饭团起来就不会散开，但入口即化。于是让伊尹负责烹饪，让易牙调和味道。把熊掌煮得烂熟，用芍药酱来调味；把兽脊上的肉切成薄片制成烤肉，把鲜活的鲤鱼切成鱼片；佐以秋天变黄的紫苏，被秋露浸润过的蔬菜；兰花泡的酒，用来漱口；山梁上的野鸡，家养的豹胎做的食物；少吃多喝，就像沸水浇在雪上一样爽快。这是天下最好的美味了，太子能勉强起身来品尝吗？”太子说：“我病了，不能去品尝啊。”

吴客说：“钟山和泰山一带出产的雄马，年龄适当时用来驾车，跑在前头的像飞鸟，跑在后面的像距虚。用早熟的麦子喂养它，使它变胖而性情急躁。给它套上坚固的辔头，让它在平坦的路上奔跑。在这时让伯乐在前后观察，让王良、造父来驾驭，秦缺、楼季做车右。

Flying birds hear it, fold their wings and cannot leave. Wild beasts hear it, droop their ears and cannot move. The spider, *chiao* worm, mole cricket, and ant hear it, prop their mouths on the ground and cannot advance. This is the saddest music in the world. Is the prince strong enough to rise to hear it?" The prince said, "I am too sick and cannot."

The guest said, "The fat underbelly of a young ox is served with bamboo sprouts and reed shoots; a stew of fat dog meat is cooked with mountain lichens. Rice from Miao mountain in Ch'u, grain from the zizania plant: you roll them into a ball which does not crumble; but with a single bite it dissolves. Then, they order I Yin[13] to cook and I Ya[14] to blend the seasonings: well-done bear paws, well-spiced broth, thin roasted dorsal fins,[15] minced fresh carp, autumn-yellow thyme, white-dew madder, orchid blossom wine poured to rinse the mouth, a course of pheasant,[16] the fetus of a tame leopard. Whether a small bite or large drink, it all dissolves as easy as hot water melts the snow. This is the most beautiful thing in the world. Are you strong enough to get up and taste it?" The prince said, "I am too sick and cannot."

The guest said, "Stallions from Chung and Tai,[17] a chariot pulled by mature horses: those in the front resemble flying birds; those in the rear are like Chü-hsü.[18] They are fed on early wheat which makes them skittish inside and temperamental without. Put on a strong bridle to keep them on the level road. Then, Po Lo[19] judges which will be the front and rear. Wang Liang[20] and Tsao Fu[21] act as drivers. Ch'in Ch'üeh[22] and Lou Chi[23] serve as guards on the right. These two, if the horses bolt, will stop them; if the chariot spills, they will right it. Then, you can bet a thousand ounces of

【原文】

千镒之重，争千里之逐。此亦天下之至骏也，太子能强起乘之乎？”太子曰：“仆病，未能也。”

客曰：“既登景夷之台，南望荆山，北望汝海，左江右湖，其乐无有。于是使博辩之士，原本山川，极命草木，比物属事，离辞连类；浮游览观，乃下置酒于虞怀之宫；连廊四注，台城层构，纷纭玄绿；辇道邪交，黄池纡曲；溷章白鹭，孔鸟鹍鹄，鹓雏鵁鶄，翠鬣紫缨；螭龙德牧，邕邕群鸣；阳鱼腾跃，奋翼振鳞；漃漻薵蓼，蔓草芳苓；女桑河柳，素叶紫茎；苗松豫章，条上造天；梧桐并闾，极望成林；众芳芬郁，乱于五风；从容猗靡，消息阳阴。列坐纵酒，荡乐娱心；景春佐酒，杜连理音；滋味杂陈，肴糅错该；练色娱目，流声悦耳。于是乃发《激楚》之结风，扬郑卫之皓乐。使先施、徵舒、阳文、段干、吴娃、闾娵、傅予之徒，杂裾垂髾，目窕心与，揄流波，杂杜若，蒙

【今译】

这两个人在马受惊时能把马制服，在马车翻倒时能扶起车。用这样的马车下千镒的赌注，去角逐千里。这是天下最好的骏马了，太子能勉强起身去乘坐吗？”太子说：“我病了，不能去乘坐啊。”

吴客说：“登上景夷台，南望荆山，北望汝水，东面是长江，西边是洞庭湖，这种游览的快乐绝无仅有。在这时让博学善辩的士人，考证山川的本原，尽举草木的名称，排比归纳，分门别类，写成文章以连缀同类事物；漫游纵览之后，在虞怀宫中摆酒设宴；宫殿的回廊四面相连，台城重叠，色泽深绿，景象缤纷；车道交错，护城河曲折迂回；溷章、白鹭，孔雀、鹍鹄，鹓雏、鵁鶄之类的鸟，或冠毛翠绿，或颈毛姹紫；群鸟合鸣，叫声动听；鸟和鱼飞腾跳跃，张开翅膀振动鳞片；河水清净，薵蓼丛生，水草缠绕，莲花芬芳；河边的柔桑柳树，纯色绿叶、枝条发紫；苗松和豫章树，枝叶高达天际；梧桐棕榈并列，远远望去蔚然成林；草木芳香，在风中混合；枝条摇曳，或隐或现。并排而坐纵情饮酒，放松心情尽情娱乐；让景春来劝酒，让杜连来奏乐；滋味多样，菜肴交错齐全；精选美色悦目赏心，流转的歌声悦耳动

gold and compete in a race of a thousand miles. These are the finest steeds in the world. Are you strong enough to get up and ride them?" The prince said, "I am too sick and cannot."

The guest said, "If you climb Ching-i[24] Tower you can look south toward Ching Mountain[25] and north toward Ju Sea.[26] To the left is the River,[27] and to the right is the Lake.[28] In pleasures, nothing surpasses it. Then, you have a scholar of broad learning and rhetorical skill trace the origins of the mountains and rivers, name all the plants and trees, categorize things, classify events, put words together, like joined to like. You wander about, take in the sights, then come down and set out wine in the Yü-huai Palace. Connecting corridors pour out on all four sides. The tower rises storey upon storey, a riot of black and green. Carriage paths join at angles, the moat twists and turns. The *hun-chang*, white heron, peacock, pheasant, *yüan-ch'u*, and red heron sport green crowns and purple neck feathers. The *Ch'ih* dragon[29] and *Te-mu*[30] sing harmoniously in unison. The fish of brightness[31] leap and jump, spread their fins and shake their scales. Thick and profuse grow the creeper grass and fragrant polygonum. There are tender mulberries and river willows with white leaves and purple stems; Miao pine and Yü-chang camphor whose branches reach to the sky. Pawlonia and coir palms form a forest as far as the eye can see. Many fragrances permeate the air, scattered by the five winds.[32] The trees sway and dip in the wind, alternating between dark and light. Then, you sit in rows, indulge in wine, while rousing music gladdens your heart. Ching Ch'un[33] serves wine, Tu Lien[34] plays a tune. Numerous delicacies are spread out at random, fine meats are arranged in different ways. Refined colors delight the eyes, effusive sounds please the ears. Then, they play the finale of "Whirling Ch'u,"[35] and send forth the stirring music of Cheng and Wei. Beauties like Hsi Shih, Cheng Shu, Yang Wen, Tuan Kan, Wu Wa, Lü Chü, and Fu Yü, with variegated lapels and draping hair, eyes flirting and hearts consenting, bathing in the flowing ripples,[36] perfumed with

【原文】

清尘，被兰泽，燕服而御。此亦天下之靡丽皓侈广博之乐也，太子能强起游乎？” 太子曰：“仆病，未能也。”

客曰：“将为太子驯骐骥之马，驾飞軨之舆，乘牡骏之乘；右夏服之劲箭，左乌号之雕弓；游涉乎云林，周驰乎兰泽，弭节乎江浔；掩青蘋，游清风；陶阳气，荡春心；逐狡兽，集轻禽。于是极犬马之才，困野兽之足，穷相御之智巧。恐虎豹，慑鸷鸟；逐马鸣镳，鱼跨麋角；履游麕兔，蹈践麖鹿；汗流沫坠，冤伏陵窘，无创而死者，固足充后乘矣。此校猎之至壮也，太子能强起游乎？”太子曰：“仆病，未能也。”然阳气见于眉宇之间，侵淫而上，几满大宅。

【今译】

听。于是唱起《激楚》急促的音调，弹奏郑、卫的动听的乐曲。让先施、徵舒、阳文、段干、吴娃、闾娵、傅予这样的俊男美女，舞动着色彩斑斓的衣裙，摇动着燕尾形的发髻，秋波暗送情意相许，他们引流水沐浴，以杜若香体，身上如披一层薄雾，脸抹兰膏，穿着便服来侍酒。这是天下最奢侈华丽、浩博盛大的宴会了，太子能勉强起身来享乐吗？” 太子说：“我病了，不能去享乐啊。”

吴客说：“准备为您驯服骐骥，驾起轻便的猎车，让您坐在这雄马拉的车子上；右边带着夏后氏箭囊里的劲箭，左边带着桑柘木制成的刻有花纹的弓；漫步在云梦泽中，围绕生长兰草的沼泽地带奔驰，车驾在江边稍停；车轮碾过青萍，迎面吹来微微清风；陶醉在春天的气息当中，春景引发的情怀也受到洗涤；然后策马追逐矫健凶猛的走兽，射中轻捷的飞鸟。这时犬马的本领发挥尽致，野兽被追赶得脚力疲困，马夫和车夫使尽了他们的智慧和技巧。虎豹恐惧了，鸷鸟慑服了；奔马响着项铃，像鱼一样腾跃像麋鹿一样角逐；脚踏麕兔，蹄压麖鹿；动物被追得汗流浃背，四处躲藏却走投无路，没有受伤而活活吓死的猎物，足以装满随从的车子。这是打猎最壮观的景象，太子能勉强起来去游猎吗？” 太子说：“我病了，不能去。”然而这时候太子眉宇之间露出了喜色，并逐渐扩散，几乎布满整个面部。

asarum and melilotus,[37] covered with pure dust and scented with orchid oil,[38] attend you in lounging robes. This is the most elegant, voluptuous, all-encompassing pleasure in the world. Are you strong enough to get up and partake?" The prince said, "I am too sick and cannot."

The guest said, "I will train for you thoroughbred horses, harness them to a carriage with flying railings,[39] and you can ride a team of powerful steeds. On the right are strong arrows in a Hsia quiver;[40] on the left is an ornamented Cry of Sorrow bow.[41] You wander across Cloud Forest,[42] gallop around an orchid marsh, and halt on the river bank. You press down the green duckweed and face the wind, let expand your *yang* spirit and arouse spring feelings. You chase wily animals and gather light-flying birds. Then, you exhaust the skills of the dogs and horses, tire the legs of the wild beasts, and tax the craft of guide and driver. You frighten tigers and leopards, terrify birds of prey. The jangling bells on your pursuit horses cause the fish to jump and the deer to butt. You run down the muntjac and rabbit, trample the giant deer. Sweat flows, saliva drips, as they cower in desperation. Those that died without being wounded make enough to fill the rear wagons. This is the grandest of the enclosure hunts.[43] Are you strong enough to get up and take part?" The prince said, "I am too sick and cannot." Yet, the yang spirit appeared between his forehead and eyebrows, gradually rose, and almost filled his entire face.

【原文】

客见太子有悦色，遂推而进之曰："冥火薄天，兵车雷运；旌旗偃蹇，羽旄肃纷；驰骋角逐，慕味争先；徼墨广博，观望之有圻；纯粹全牺，献之公门。"太子曰："善！愿复闻之。"

客曰："未既。于是榛林深泽，烟云暗莫，兕虎并作；毅武孔猛，袒裼身薄；白刃硙硙，矛戟交错；收获掌功，赏赐金帛。掩蘋肆若，为牧人席；旨酒嘉肴，羞炰脍炙，以御宾客。涌觞并起，动心惊耳；诚必不悔，决绝以诺；贞信之色，形于金石。高歌陈唱，万岁无斁。此真太子之所喜也，能强起而游乎？"太子曰："仆甚愿从，直恐为诸大夫累耳。"然而有起色矣。

【今译】

吴客见太子有高兴的神色，就进一步说："夜火冲天，兵车车轮滚动像迅疾的雷声一样；旌旗高举，整齐而纷繁；车马往来奔驰竞逐，向往得到野味而奋勇争先；猎兽的围栏和焚烧过的野地又宽又广，远远地望去才可看到它的边缘；那毛色纯一、躯体完整的猎物，把它进献到诸侯面前。"太子说："说得好！我愿意再听你说。"

吴客说："这还没有说完。在那丛林深泽之间，烟蒸云腾一片昏暗，犀牛老虎一起出现；打猎的人刚毅勇猛非常强悍，他们脱去上衣徒手擒获野兽；只见雪白的刀刃闪闪发光，长矛大戟纵横交错；打猎结束后按照获取猎物多寡记录功劳，赏赐金银和布帛。压平地上的青苹铺上杜若，为打猎的官员设宴庆功；浓浓的美酒可口的佳肴，烹煮脍炙的肉食，用来款待贵客。大家一齐斟满酒杯起身祝酒，豪言壮语振人耳目；言语诚信而不悔改，承诺都很坚决；坚贞诚信的表情，就像刻在金石上一样。人们放声歌唱热烈欢呼，丝毫也不感到厌倦。这正是太子所真正喜爱的，您能勉强起来一起去游玩吗？"太子说："我很愿意和大家一起去，只怕成为各位大夫的累赘。"不过太子已有跃跃欲试的样子了。

The guest, seeing that the prince had a pleased expression, expanded and continued his description. He said, "In the dark of night a fire pierces the sky, war chariots thunder about, banners wave aloft, feather streamers flow stately. The hunters gallop and race, striving to be first to the prize booty. The burned out enclosure is broad and vast but one can still view the border. Animals of uniform color with unblemished bodies are presented at the nobles' gates." The prince said, "Excellent! I would like to hear more about it."

The guest said, "I am not yet finished. Then, from a dense forest and deep marsh, in the darkness of mist and clouds, a rhinoceros and tiger both appear. Brave warriors, extremely fierce, barechested, attack unarmed. White blades gleam and flash, spears and lances interlock. They harvest the catch, record the booty, bestow prizes of gold and silk. They press down duckweed and unfold melilotus to make the Forester's mat. Good wine and fine meats, sautéed delicacies and roasted hams are served to the guests. Bubbling wine cups are raised, stirring hearts and tingling the ears. The warriors are true, determined, and show no qualms. They are resolute and decisive in their pledges. Expressions of loyalty and devotion take form in music. They sing loudly, never tiring as they sing 'long live the prince!' This is truly something you would enjoy. Are you strong enough to get up and take part?" The prince said, "I would like to go along, but I am afraid I would be a burden to the officers." However, from his color he appeared about to arise.

【原文】

客曰："将以八月之望，与诸侯远方交游兄弟，并往观涛乎广陵之曲江。至则未见涛之形也，徒观水力之所到，则恤然足以骇矣！观其所驾轶者，所擢拔者，所扬汩者，所温汾者，所涤汔者，虽有心略辞给，固未能缕形其所由然也。怳兮忽兮，聊兮栗兮，混汩汩兮，忽兮慌兮，俶兮傥兮，浩瀇瀁兮，慌旷旷兮。秉意乎南山，通望乎东海。虹洞兮苍天，极虑乎崖涘。流揽无穷，归神日母。汩乘流而下降兮，或不知其所止。或纷纭其流折兮，忽缪往而不来。临朱汜而远逝兮，中虚烦而益怠。莫离散而发曙兮，内存心而自持。于是澡概胸中，洒练五藏，澹澉手足，颒濯发齿，揄弃恬怠，输写淟浊，分决狐疑，发

【今译】

吴客说："我们准备在八月十五，和诸侯及远方来的朋友兄弟们，一同去广陵的曲江观涛。初到时还未看到江涛涨起的迹象，不过光是看到水流冲击之处，就足以使人惊恐异常了！当看到那后浪超越前浪的景象，浪头高高掀起的情形，波涛激荡纷乱的情景，水流回转结聚的势态，惊涛拍浪的力量，即使多有谋略言辞敏捷的人，也无法描绘出这种壮观景象。浩荡无边，恍惚难辨，汹涌澎湃，心惊胆战，波涛滚滚啊，发出汩汩的声音，时而迷茫一片啊、令人目眩，时而奇峰突起啊，何等壮观，那水势浩大深广啊，那江涛超越旷远。站在南山之上，一直望到东海之滨。只见江涛汹涌，与天相接，竭尽思虑吧，请去想象哪里是涛水的尽头。观览无穷无尽的江水，凝神日出之处。那江涛急速地随着水流往下游流去啊，也许没有人知道它流到哪里才会停歇。有时那众多的浪头流转曲折啊，忽然又纠结奔流不再回头。浪涛冲到朱汜又向远处流走啊，使人见了心中空虚烦闷，精神更加倦怠。观涛之后，整个晚上都心意散乱啊，直到天亮才能把心收起来恢复情绪的安稳。于是胸中经过荡涤，五脏经过洗濯，手足冲刷得更加干净，颜面发齿也洗得更加洁白光亮，消除了安逸懒惰，排除了污垢肮脏，迷惑不清得以分辨决断，耳朵眼睛也由此通透明亮。在这种情况下，纵

The guest said, "During the full moon of the eighth month with the lords and friends and relatives from distant regions you might go to view the bore of the Ch'ü River at Kuang-ling.[44] When you arrive, even before you see the actual bore, and all you see is how far the water's power carries, you are startled enough to be terrified. When one sees what it leaps over, what it plucks up, what it tosses about, what it collects together, and what it washes clean, though he be mentally equipped and verbally prepared, he certainly cannot describe it completely. It confuses and befuddles, frightens and terrifies, rushes and surges, befuddles and baffles, is strange and eerie, deep and vast, broad and boundless. It fixes one's thoughts on the southern mountains and returns the gaze to the eastern sea; the water joins with the azure sky so that one's complete attention is absorbed in where it might end. One looks everywhere and finds it so limitless that it carries his spirit back to the mother of the sun.[45] With great speed it rides the current and descends; no one knows where it stops. At times it breaks off in great turmoil, suddenly knots together, goes away never to return. When it nears the Vermillion Bank[46] and disappears into the distance, inside one is so upset and empty that he becomes increasingly weary. The feeling does not dissipate until the break of dawn,[47] when one composes his mind and contains himself. Then, one can cleanse his breast, purify his five viscera, scrub his hands and feet, and wash his hair and teeth. He can cast out indolence, purge filth, resolve doubts, and open up the ears and eyes. At this time, although one might have a chronic, long-term illness, it still will straighten a hunchback, raise up the lame, give sight to the blind and hearing to the deaf so they can go and view it. How much more effective would it not be for one suffering a petty illness, melancholy, a hangover,

【原文】

皇耳目。当是之时，虽有淹病滞疾，犹将伸伛起躄，发瞽披聋而观望之也。况直眇小烦懑，酲醲病酒之徒哉！故曰，发蒙解惑，不足以言也。”太子曰：“善！然则涛何气哉？”

客曰：“不记也。然闻于师曰，似神而非者三：疾雷闻百里；江水逆流，海水上潮；山出内云，日夜不止。衍溢漂疾，波涌而涛起。其始起也，洪淋淋焉，若白鹭之下翔；其少进也，浩浩溰溰，如素车白马帷盖之张。其波涌而云乱，扰扰焉如三军之腾装；其旁作而奔起也，飘飘焉如轻车之勒兵。六驾蛟龙，附从太白；纯驰浩霓，前后骆驿。颙颙卬卬，椐椐强强，莘莘将将。壁垒重坚，沓杂似军行。訇隐匈磕，轧盘涌裔，原不可当。观其两旁，则滂渤怫郁，暗漠感突，上

【今译】

使有久病不起，患有顽疾的人，尚且要将驼背挺直，将跛脚抬起，将瞎了的双目张开，将聋了的耳朵通启，来观看这江涛的宏伟景象。何况只是胸中有小小的烦闷，饮酒过量而病的人呢！所以说，江涛对于启发蒙昧解除昏惑的作用就更不必说了。”太子说：“太好了！然而江涛究竟是一种什么气象呢？”

吴客说：“没有记载。但从老师那里听说，江涛似神而又非神的特点有三条：一是声如迅雷，百里外都能听到；二是江水倒流，海水涨潮时往上灌；三是山谷吞吐云气，日夜不断。江水满溢，水流湍急，波浪汹涌。那江涛开始出现的时候，激流飞泻而下，似白鹭向下飞翔；稍进一步，水势浩浩荡荡，白茫茫一片，像白马驾着素车张开了帷幔。波涛汹涌如乱云一般滚滚而来，纷乱的样子就像大军整理装束列队向前；当波涛从两旁掀腾卷起，飘飘荡荡的样子就像将军坐在轻车上指挥军队作战。驾车的是六条蛟龙，跟随在河神太白的后面；又好似一条白色长虹在奔驰，一伸一屈地滚动着前进。潮头高大，浪头相随，波涛激荡。像军营壁垒重叠而又坚固，其杂乱纷纭，又像人多马众的行军。江涛轰鸣，奔腾澎湃，其势本不可挡。看那岸两旁，水势更是汹涌，汪洋一片，左冲右突，一会儿向上冲击一会儿往

or drunkenness. Thus, it is said, 'That it dissipates delusions and dispels doubts, need not even be mentioned.'"[48] The prince said, "Good, but if this is so, what is the force of the bore?"

The guest said, "It is not recorded, but I have heard from my teacher that although it is not a spirit, it resembles one in three ways: its angry thunder can be heard a hundred miles; the river water flows upstream, and the sea water sends up a tide; from the mountains clouds go in and out, day and night without stopping. Spilling out with great speed, the wave swells and the bore rises. When it first rises, a torrent pours forth like a flock of swooping white egrets. As it advances slightly, it becomes vast and gleaming white, like a white carriage and team with curtains and canopy displayed. The wave swells and scatters like clouds, as jumbled as the piled-up baggage of the three armies. It runs to the side and rises rapidly; it is light and graceful, like a command chariot directing the troops. A team of six water dragons follows in T'ai-po's wake.[49] All alone it gallops, like a huge rainbow, front and rear strung together.[50] High and tall, one after another, the waves crash and collide. It is a veritable fortress, double strong, yet scattered and broken like the columns of an army. Roaring, crashing, vast, boundless, roiling, it truly cannot be resisted. If one looks at the two sides, he sees the bore tormented and sullen, gloomy and contentious, striking upward, pushing downward; like a troop of brave warriors it clashes angrily and shows no fear. It tramples the bank, collides with the channel, reaches all the twists, follows all the bends, spills over the bank, passes over the sand piles. Whatever meets it dies; whatever confronts it, is destroyed. It first issues from the channel of Huo-wei.[51] It twists the shoreline and splits the valley. It whirls past Ch'ing-mieh,[52] is muted at T'an-huan,[53] pauses at Master Wu's mountain,[54] cuts through the altar of Hsü's mother.[55] It traverses the Red Cliffs,[56] sweeps over Fu-sang,[57] racing helter-skelter like moving thunder. It puts forth a martial air, as if

【原文】

击下律；有似勇壮之卒，突怒而无畏。蹈壁冲津，穷曲随隈，逾岸出追；遇者死，当者坏。初发乎或围之津涯，荄轸谷分；回翔青篾，衔枚檀桓；弭节伍子之山，通厉胥母之场。凌赤岸，篲扶桑，横奔似雷行；诚奋厥武，如振如怒。沌沌浑浑，状如奔马；混混庉庉，声如雷鼓。发怒庢沓，清升逾跇，侯波奋振，合战于藉藉之口。鸟不及飞，鱼不及回，兽不及走。纷纷翼翼，波涌云乱。荡取南山，背击北岸；覆亏丘陵，平夷西畔；险险戏戏，崩坏陂池，决胜乃罢。㶁汩潺湲，披扬流洒。横暴之极，鱼鳖失势，颠倒偃侧，沋沋湲湲，蒲伏连延。神物怪疑，不可胜言。直使人踣焉，回暗凄怆焉。此天下怪异诡观也，太子能强起观之乎？”太子曰：“仆病，未能也。”

【今译】

下跌落，好似勇猛强壮的士卒，怒不可挡。潮水拍打岸壁，冲击渡口，流遍江湾，注满水曲，跨越堤岸，漫出沙堆；碰到它就要死亡，挡住它就要被摧毁。波涛开始时从或围的水边出发，撞到山陇而回转，遇到川谷而分流；到青篾打着旋涡，经过檀桓时像战马衔枚一样无声疾进；再缓缓流过伍子山，一直流向胥母山。它超越赤岸，扫向扶桑，横冲直撞，如疾雷迅行，直奔前方；江涛确实奋发了它的威武，既像示威，又像发怒。波涛相随，如万马奔腾；轰轰隆隆，似鼓声震天。水势因受阻而怒起，清波因相互超越而升腾，大波奋起震荡，交战在藉藉的隘口。鸟来不及起飞，鱼来不及转身，兽来不及躲避。水势浩渺劲健，波涌似飞云乱翻。江涛冲击南山，转身又冲撞北岸；摧毁了丘陵，荡平了西岸；多么危险多么可怕啊，它冲垮堤岸，破坏池塘，直到取得胜利之后方才罢休。水流时急时缓，浪花飞溅不息。任意泛滥，已到极点，鱼鳖不能自主，腹背颠倒上下翻滚，匍匐而行，起伏不断。水中神物骇异之状难以尽述。简直使人惊倒在地，吓得神志不清，失魂落魄。这是天下怪异罕见的奇观，太子能勉强起来去观赏它吗？”太子说：“我还有病，不能去。”

roused, as if angry. It is confused and chaotic, with the bearing of a bolting horse. It booms and crashes, like rolls of thunder. It bursts into anger, is blocked, starts to foam; limpid water rises and then escapes. The Wave God is aroused; he does battle at the mouth of Chich-chieh.[58] The birds have no chance to fly, fish have no chance to turn, the game have no chance to run. In turmoil and confusion, the waves swell, scatter like clouds. They dash into the southern mountains, smash the northern shore. They topple the hills and mounds, flatten the western bank. Dangerous, perilous, they collapse the embankments. Finally victorious, it gradually subsides. Waves clashing, rapids roiling, the water spreads and swells, flows and drenches. At the peak of violence, fish and turtles lose their strength, are toppled over, turned on their sides. They are thrown back by the waves, groveling and crawling continuously. Such magical things are eerie and baffling and cannot be described completely. It only makes one stumble, confused,

【原文】

客曰："将为太子奏方术之士有资略者，若庄周、魏牟、杨朱、墨翟、便蜎、詹何之伦，使之论天下之精微，理万物之是非。孔老览观，孟子持筹而算之，万不失一。此亦天下要言妙道也，太子岂欲闻之乎？"于是太子据几而起曰："涣乎若一听圣人辩士之言。"涊然汗出，霍然病已。

【今译】

吴客说："将给太子进荐博学而有理论的人中最有才智的，就像庄周、魏牟、杨朱、墨翟、便蜎、詹何一类的人物，让他们阐释天下精深微妙的道理，明辨万事万物的是非曲直。再请孔子、老子这类人物对上述诸人的言论进行审阅评说，请孟子这类人物为之筹划，这样就万无一失了。这是天下最切要最精妙的学说啊，太子难道不想听听这些吗？"于是太子扶着几案站了起来说："豁然清醒如若听到了圣人辩士的言论了。"太子出了一身透汗，忽然之间病症全消。

and apprehensive. This is the strangest sight in the world. Are you strong enough to get up and view it?" The prince said, "I am too sick and cannot."

The guest said, "Now I wish to introduce to you masters of 'methods and arts,' possessed of talent and wisdom, men like Chuang Chou, Wei Mou,[59] Yang Chu, Mo Ti, Pien Chüan, Chan Ho,[60] and have them discuss the fine points of the world, formulate truth and falsity in the myriad things. Confucius and Lao-tzu can offer their teachings and Mencius will draw up plans so exact they will never err once in ten thousand times. These are the most essential words and marvelous doctrines in the world. Do you wish to hear them?" Thereupon, the prince leaned on his stool, got up, and said, "I feel awake, as if I have just heard the words of a sage and sophist." He began to perspire profusely, and suddenly his sickness was cured.

(*Translated by David R. Knechtges & Jerry Swanson*)

上书谏吴王

【原文】

臣闻得全者昌，失全者亡。舜无立锥之地，以有天下；禹无十户之聚，以王诸侯。汤武之土不过百里，上不绝三光之明，下不伤百姓之心者，有王术也。故父子之道，天性也。忠臣不避重诛以直谏，则事无遗策，功流万世。臣乘愿披腹心而效愚忠，惟大王少加意，念恻怛之心于臣乘言。

夫以一缕之任，系千钧之重，上悬之无极之高，下垂之不测之渊，虽甚愚之人犹知哀其将绝也。马方骇鼓而惊之，系方绝又重镇之，系

【今译】

我听说能够做到行为完美的人一定会昌盛，做不到的人就会灭亡。舜从没有立锥之地，到最后拥有了天下；禹从十户人家那么大的村落都没有，到最后能够在诸侯之间称王。商汤、武王的土地方圆不过百里，对上能够让日月星辰运行正常，对下能不伤害百姓的心，是因为用仁政来称王天下。所以父子之道是人的天性。忠臣不惧怕杀头而进行直谏，就没有遗漏或谋划不周的事情，功绩将流传万世。我愿意剖开自己的心腹献上愚笨的忠心，希望大王对我的话稍加考虑，以体现您的恻隐之心。

凭一根线的负重，系起千钧的重物，将其悬挂在很高很高的地方，下面接近不知深度的深渊，纵然是再愚笨的人也知道担心线会断开。马就要受惊，却还去击鼓惊吓它，系物的线将要断开，却又给它增加

Letter of Protest to the Prince of Wu

I have heard that
whosoever attains the perfection of a thing will flourish,
whosoever falls short of perfection will perish.
Shun had not the land in which to set an awl,
but came eventually to possess all the world.
Yu had not a cluster of ten households,
but eventually became king of the great nobility.
The territories of Tang and Wu
went no more than a hundred leagues.
He who
causes no eclipse in the light of the Three Luminaries above,
and harms not the hearts of the masses of people below—
such a person possesses the skills of kingship.
The Way of father and son is our nature endowed by Heaven:
If a faithful retainer remonstrates straightforwardly,
not avoiding grave punishment,
then no counsel will be overlooked in your affairs,
and the deed will continue for thousands of generations.
I, Mei Sheng, wish to open my heart and demonstrate my simple faith,
and I wish only that my Prince pay some slight heed and attend to my words with a sympathetic heart.

Take a single thread as bearer of a burden;
tie it to a weight of a hundred pounds;
suspend it above from a limitless height;
let it hang down below into an unfathomable abyss—
even a very foolish man

【原文】

绝于天不可复结，坠入深渊难以复出。其出不出，间不容发。能听忠臣之言，百举必脱。必若所欲为，危于累卵，难于上天；变所欲为，易于反掌，安于泰山。今欲极天命之上寿，敝无穷之乐，究万乘之势，不出反掌之易；居泰山之安，而欲乘累卵之危，走上天之难，此愚臣之所大惑也。

人性有畏其影而恶其迹，却背而走，迹逾多，影逾疾，不如就阴而止，影灭迹绝。欲人勿闻，莫若勿言；欲人勿知，莫若勿为。欲汤之沧，一人炊之，百人扬之，无益也，不如绝薪止火而已。不绝之于彼，而救之于此，譬由抱薪而救火也。养由基，楚之善射者也，去杨叶百

【今译】

重量，系物的线在高处断开，不能再接好，重物掉进深渊，难以再把它取出来。能否从灾祸中逃出来只在一念之间，形势十分危急。假使能听从忠臣的话，所有的行动一定能够免于灾祸。如果一定要顺着自己的想法去做，那就比堆起来的蛋还危险，比登天还难；但如果改变自己的做法，比翻手掌还容易，比泰山还安稳。现在要享尽天赐的寿数，享尽无穷的乐趣，终保王侯的威势，不从易如反掌的事出发；享有像泰山那样的安稳，却要奔向累卵那样的危险，经历登天一样的困难，这是我心中最大的疑惑啊。

有人对自己的影子和足迹有所畏惧，他转身狂奔，结果足迹更多，影子在身后追逐得更快，还不如在阴暗处停下来，影子与足迹自然而然就消失无踪了。想让别人听不到，不如不说；想让别人不知道，不如不做。想让热水凉下来，一个人烧火，百人把水舀起再倒下，也没有效果，不如抽掉柴草停止烧火。不在那里采取决断的措施，却在这边施救，就像抱着柴草去救火一样。养由基，是楚国善于射箭的人，

knows enough to be anxious that it will break.
A horse will rear up, if you prod and alarm it;
what is tied will snap, if you weigh it down further.
And falling into the deep abyss,
it will be hard to get it out again;
though between getting it out and not getting it out
there may lie not even a hair's breadth.
If you can heed this faithful retainer's words,
you will get out every time.
But if you must act as you wish, it will be:
more precarious than a pile of eggs,
harder than climbing to Heaven.
If you change what you wish, it will be:
easier than turning over the hand,
more secure than Tai Mountain.
You now wish:
to reach the limit of the greatest old age ordained by Heaven,
to fulfill the extremes of pleasures unending,
to know an emperor's power, lord of ten thousand chariots.
Not
taking a course of such ease as in turning over a hand, or
residing in the security of Tai Mountain,
but instead wanting:
to ride the precariousness of a pile of eggs,
and rushing into the hardships of climbing to Heaven—
this is what so greatly bewilders your retainer.

In human nature there are some
who fear their shadows and hate their footprints.
As they turn their backs and run,
their footprints grow steadily more,
their shadow becomes steadily swifter.
Best to go to some shady spot and stop:
there shadow vanishes, footprints cease.
If you want others not to hear something,

【原文】

步，百发百中。杨叶之大，加百中焉，可谓善射矣。然其所止，百步之内耳！比于臣乘，未知操弓持矢也。

福生有基，祸生有胎；纳其基，绝其胎，祸何自来？泰山之溜穿石，殚极之绠断干。水非石之钻，索非木之锯，渐靡使之然也。夫铢铢而称之，至石必差；寸寸而度之，至丈必过。石称丈量，径而寡失。夫十围之木，始生如蘖，足可搔而绝，手可擢而拔，据其未生，先其

【今译】

距离杨树叶百步远，射箭百发百中。杨树叶才那么大，能够百发百中，可以称得上善射了。可是他射箭的距离，只在百步之内罢了！和我所见比起来，他简直不懂得射箭。

福的产生有它的基础，祸的产生有它的缘由；得到福的基础，止住祸的根源，祸还能从哪里来呢？泰山上流下的水能够穿透石头，拉到尽头的井绳可以磨烂井栏。水不是穿石的钻，井绳不是开木的锯，不断的磨损才使它们这样。一铢一铢地称，称到一石一定会有差错；一寸一寸地量，量到一丈一定会有差错。以石和丈来称量，简便又少出差错。周长十围的树木，开始生长的时候是很小的嫩芽，用脚就可以把它踩断，用手就可以把它拔出，这是凭借它没有长成，在它没有

大中华文库

best not to speak;
If you want others not to know,
best not to aet.
If you want hot water to eool off,
and one man fans the flames
while a hundred men ladle it,
it would be better to stop the fuel and end the fire!
Not stopping one thing,
while trying to fix it with another,
may be eompared to taking an armload of kindling to put out a fire.
Yang You-ji was the expert areher of Chu.
He went a hundred paees from a willow leaf,
in a hundred shots hit it a hundred times.
Considering the size of a willow leaf,
to hit it a hundred times
ean be considered expert archery indeed.
Nevertheless, the point where he stopped
was still but a hundred paees.
Compared to your retainer Sheng, he didn't know even how to hold a bow and arrows!

When fair fortune appears, it has some base;
when misfortune appears, it has some womb.
Preserve the base,
stop off the womb,
and how shall misfortune eome?
The water that drips on Tai Mountain pierees stone;
the well-rope on a single stoek breaks the roller.
Yet
water is no drill for stone,
rope is no saw for wood—
it is the gradual abrasion that makes it so.
If you weigh something grain by grain,
you will always miss at the pound;

【原文】

未形也。磨砻砥砺，不见其损，有时而尽；种树畜养，不见其益，有时而大；积德累行，不知其善，有时而用；弃义背理，不知其恶，有时而亡。臣愿大王熟计而身行之，此百世不易之道也。

【今译】

形成之前。磨砻砥砺这些磨石，看不见它的损坏，时间长了终究会磨尽；种树养畜，不见它的生长，一段时间后就会长大；积累德行，不见它的好处，时间长了就会有作用；背弃理义，不知道它的危害，时间久了就会灭亡。我希望大王您仔细考虑一下并且亲自施行，这是百世不变的道理啊。

if you measure something inch by inch,
you will always err at the yard.
If you weigh by the pound, gauge by the yard,
you will go straight and seldom fail.
The tree of ten armspans in girth first grew as a shoot:
your foot could scrape and break it,
your hand could yank and pull it up—
this depended on its not being fully grown,
you acted before it took full form.
Grind and grate, rub and scrape—
you see no harm from it,
but sometime it will get through;
seed and plant, nourish and tend—
you see no gain from it,
but sometime it will be large.
Seed attainments, accumulate merits—
you see no good from it,
but sometime it will be illustrious;
forsake Virtuous Attainment, reject the Pattern—
you see no ill from it,
but sometime it will bring ruin.
I wish that my Prince would give mature consideration to his plans and practice this himself.
This is the Way that does not change in a hundred generations.

(*Translated by Stephen Owen*)

司马迁

报任安书

【原文】

太史公牛马走司马迁再拜言，少卿足下：曩者辱赐书，教以顺于接物，推贤进士为务。意气勤勤恳恳，若望仆不相师而用流俗人之言。仆非敢如此也。仆虽罢驽，亦尝侧闻长者之遗风矣。顾自以为身残处秽，动而见尤，欲益反损，是以独郁悒而谁与语。谚曰："谁为为之？孰令听之？"盖钟子期死，伯牙终身不复鼓琴。何则？士为知己者用，女为说己者容。若仆大质已亏缺矣，虽才怀随、和，行若由、夷，终不可以为荣，适足以见笑而自点耳。书辞宜答，会东从上来，又迫贱

【今译】

太史公、像牛马一样的仆役司马迁谨向您再拜致意，少卿足下：往日承蒙您写信给我，教导我务必慎重地待人接物，并应把推荐贤能之士当作自己的责任。情意十分诚恳，似乎是抱怨我没有遵从您的教诲，而是附和了俗人的看法。我不敢如此做啊。我虽然平庸无能，但也曾从旁听到过德高才俊的前辈遗留下来的风尚。只是我自认为身体残缺又处于污秽耻辱的环境之中，每有行动便受到指责，想做有益之事反而招来损害，因此我只能独自忧闷而不能向人诉说。俗话说："为谁去做？叫谁来听？"钟子期死后，伯牙便一辈子不再弹琴。这是为什么呢？贤士乐于被了解自己的人所用，女子为喜爱自己的人而打扮。像我这样的人，身躯已经残缺，即使才能像随侯珠、和氏璧那样稀有，品行像许由、伯夷那样高尚，终究不能用这些来引以为荣，恰好只会引人耻笑而自取其辱。来信本应及时答复，刚巧我跟从皇上东巡回来，

Letter to Jen An (Shao-ch'ing)

The Grand Historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien, bowing repeatedly, addresses his worthy friend Shao-ch'ing: Some time ago you deigned to send me a letter in which you advised me to be concerned for my social contacts and devote myself to the recommendation and advancement of qualified persons. You expressed yourself with considerable vigor, as though you expected I would not follow your advice but would be influenced by the words of the vulgar: I would hardly behave in such a way. I may be a broken hack, but I have still been exposed to the teachings handed down by my elders. However, I see myself as mutilated and disgraced: I am criticized if I act, and where I hope to be helpful I do harm instead. This causes me secret distress, but to whom can I unburden myself? As the proverb says, "For whom do you do it? Who are you going to get to listen to you?" Why was it that Po-ya never again played his lute after Chung Tzu-ch'i died? A gentleman acts on behalf of an understanding friend, as a woman makes herself beautiful for her lover. Someone like me whose virility is lacking could never be a hero, even if he had the endowments of the pearl of Sui and the jade of Pien-ho or conducted himself like Hsü Yu and Po Yi; he would only succeed in being laughed at and put to shame. I should have answered your letter sooner, but when I got back from the East in the emperor's suite I was very busy. We were seldom together, and then I was so pressed that there

【原文】

事，相见日浅，卒卒无须臾之间，得竭志意。今少卿抱不测之罪，涉旬月，迫季冬，仆又薄从上雍，恐卒然不可为讳，是仆终已不得舒愤懑以晓左右，则长逝者魂魄私恨无穷。请略陈固陋，阙然久不报，幸勿为过。

仆闻之：修身者，智之符也；爱施者，仁之端也；取与者，义之表也；耻辱者，勇之决也；立名者，行之极也。士有此五者，然后可以托于世，而列于君子之林矣。故祸莫憯于欲利，悲莫痛于伤心，行莫丑于辱先，诟莫大于宫刑。刑余之人，无所比数，非一世也，所从来远矣。昔卫灵公与雍渠同载，孔子适陈；商鞅因景监见，赵良寒

【今译】

后又忙于烦琐之事，同您见面的日子很少，匆匆忙忙地没有半点空闲来详尽地表达自己的心意。现在您蒙受意想不到的罪祸，再过一个月，临近冬末，我跟从皇上到雍县去的日期也迫近了，恐怕突然之间就会有不幸之事发生，那样我就终生不能向您抒发胸中的愤懑了，那么您的魂魄会永远留下无穷的怨恨。请让我把浅陋的意见略加陈述，隔了很长的日子没有回信，希望您不要责怪。

我听到过这样的说法：加强自我修养，是智慧的集中体现；乐于助人，是“仁”的起点；正当的取予，是推行“义”的标志；懂得耻辱，是勇敢的先决条件；建立美好的名声，是品行的终极目标。士人有这五种品德，然后才可以立足于社会，排在君子的行列中。所以，祸患没有比贪利更悲惨的了，悲哀没有比心灵受创更痛苦的了，行为没有比污辱祖先更丑恶的了，耻辱没有比遭受宫刑更大的了。受过宫刑的人，社会地位无法和别人相比，这并非当今之世如此，可以追溯到很远的时候。从前卫灵公与宦官雍渠同坐一辆车子，让孔子坐在后面的车上，孔子感到羞耻便离开卫国到陈国去了；商鞅依靠宦官景监

was never a moment's time when I could speak my mind. Now you, Shao-ch'ing, are under an accusation whose outcome is uncertain. Weeks and months have passed until we have now reached the end of winter, and I am going to have to accompany the emperor to Yung. I am afraid that that may come to pass which cannot be avoided, and as a result I will never have the chance to give expression to my grievance and explain myself to you. It would mean that the souls of the departed would carry a never-ending burden of secret resentment. Let me say what is on my mind; I hope you will not hold it against me that I have been negligent in leaving your letter so long unanswered.

I have been taught that self-cultivation is the mark of wisdom, that charity is the sign of humanity, that taking and giving is the measure of decency, that a sense of shame is the index of bravery, that making a name for oneself is the end of conduct. A gentleman who practices these five things can entrust his reputation to the world and win a place among outstanding men. On the other hand there is no misfortune so hurtful as cupidity, no grief so painful as disappointment, no conduct so despicable as disgracing one's forebears, no defilement so great as castration. One who has undergone that punishment nowhere counts as a man. This is not just a modern attitude; it has always been so. Formerly when Duke Ling of Wei rode in the same chariot with the eunuch Yung-ch'ü, Confucius left Wei to

【原文】

心；同子参乘，袁丝变色。自古而耻之。夫以中才之人，事有关于宦竖，莫不伤气，而况于慷慨之士乎！如今朝廷虽乏人，奈何令刀锯之余，荐天下豪俊哉！

仆赖先人绪业，得待罪辇毂下，二十余年矣。所以自惟，上之不能纳忠效信，有奇策才力之誉，自结明主；次之又不能拾遗补阙，招贤进能，显岩穴之士；外之又不能备行伍，攻城野战，有斩将搴旗之功；下之不能积日累劳，取尊官厚禄，以为宗族交游光宠。四者无一遂，苟合取容，无所短长之效，可见如此矣。向者，仆亦常厕下大夫之列，陪奉外廷末议。不以此时引维纲，尽思虑。今已亏形为扫除之隶，在

【今译】

的推荐而被秦孝公召见，贤士赵良为之寒心；太监赵同子陪坐在汉文帝的车上，袁丝为之脸色大变。自古以来人们就以宦官为耻辱。一个才能平庸的人，一旦事情关系到宦官，没有不感到丧气的，更何况一个慷慨刚强的志士呢！如今朝廷虽然缺乏人才，但怎么会让一个受过宫刑的人来举荐天下的豪杰俊才呢？

我凭着先人遗留下来的事业，才能够在皇帝身边做事，到现在已二十多年了。我常常这样想，上不能对君王献出忠心和诚信，也没有因出奇的谋略和特殊的能力受到赞誉，从而得到皇上的信任；其次，又不能给皇上拾取遗漏，补正过失，也不能招纳贤才，推举能人，发现隐居山野的贤士；对外又不能整顿军队，攻打城池，野外作战，建立斩将夺旗的功劳；下又不能以日积月累的辛劳谋得高官厚禄，来为宗族和朋友争光。这四个方面没有哪一方面做出成绩，我只能苟且地迎合皇上的心意以保全自己的地位，没有些微的建树，我的情况从这些方面就可以看出来。以前，我也曾置身于下大夫的行列，在朝堂上发表些不值一提的意见。我没有利用这个机会伸张纲纪，竭尽思虑。到现在身体残缺而成为打扫污秽的差役，处在卑贱者中间，还想昂首

go to Ch'en; when Shang Yang arranged an audience through the eunuch Jing, Chao Liang's heart sank; when T'ung-tzu shared the emperor's chariot, Yüan Ssu blushed. It has always been occasion for shame. Even an ordinary fellow never fails to be offended when he has business with a eunuch—how much the more a gentleman of spirit. Though the court today may want men, you surely do not expect one who has submitted to the knife to recommend the worthies of the empire for places?

It has been twenty years since I inherited my father's office and entered the service of the emperor. It occurs to me that during that time I have not been able to demonstrate my loyalty and sincerity or win praise for good advice and outstanding abilities in the service of a wise ruler; nor have I been able to make good defects and omissions, or advance the worthy and talented, or induce wise hermits to serve; nor have I been able to serve in the ranks of the army, attacking walled cities and fighting in the field to win merit by taking an enemy general's head or capturing his banners; nor have I been able to win merit through long and faithful service to rise to high office and handsome salary, to the glory of my family and the benefit of my friends. From my failure in all four of these endeavors it follows that I am prepared to compromise with the times and avoid giving offence, wholly ineffectual for good or ill. Formerly as Great Officer of the third grade I once had

【原文】

阘茸之中，乃欲仰首伸眉，论列是非，不亦轻朝廷羞当世之士邪？嗟乎！嗟乎！如仆尚何言哉！尚何言哉！

且事本末未易明也。仆少负不羁之才，长无乡曲之誉，主上幸以先人之故，使得奏薄伎，出入周卫之中。仆以为戴盆何以望天？故绝宾客之知，亡室家之业，日夜思竭其不肖之才力，务一心营职，以求亲媚于主上。而事乃有大谬不然者夫。

仆与李陵俱居门下，素非能相善也。趣舍异路，未尝衔杯酒接殷勤之余欢。然仆观其为人，自守奇士，事亲孝，与士信，临财廉，取与义。分别有让，恭俭下人，常思奋不顾身以徇国家之急。其素所蓄积也，仆以为有国士之风。夫人臣出万死不顾一生之计，赴公家之

【今译】

扬眉，评论是非，不也是轻视朝廷羞辱了当世的君子们吗？唉！唉！像我这样的人还有什么可说的！还有什么可说的！

而且事情的前因后果一般人是不容易弄明白的。我年少时缺少卓越不羁的才华，成年以后也没有得到乡里的赞誉，幸亏皇上因为我父亲是太史令，使我能够贡献微薄的才能，出入宫禁之中。我认为头上顶着盆子怎么能仰望天空？所以断绝了宾客的往来，忘掉了家庭的事务，日夜都在考虑献出自己全部的微不足道的才干和能力，专心供职，以求得皇上的信任和宠幸。但是事情竟然会大错特错，不是原先所料想的那样。

我和李陵都在朝中为官，平时并没有多少交情。彼此志趣也不相同，从不曾在一起举杯饮酒，互相表示友好的感情。但是我观察李陵的为人，他的确是个守节操的不平常的人，侍奉父母讲孝道，同朋友交往守信用，遇到钱财很廉洁，或取或予都合乎礼义。能恪守长幼尊卑的礼节、谦让有礼，恭谨谦逊，甘居人后，总是考虑着奋不顾身地来赴国家的急难。从他历来的言行表现来看，我认为他有国士的风度。做人臣的，出于万死而不顾一生的考虑，奔赴国家的危难，这已

the chance to participate in deliberations in a minor capacity. Since I then offered no great plans nor expressed myself freely, would it not be an insult to the court and an affront to my colleagues if now, mutilated, a menial who sweeps floors, a miserable wretch, I should raise my head and stretch my eyebrows to argue right and wrong? Alas, for one like me what is there left to say? What is there left to say?

It is not easy to explain just what happened. When I was young I had no outstanding abilities and I grew up unpraised by my fellow townsmen. Fortunately, however, thanks to my father's service, the emperor made it possible for me to put my inconsiderable abilities at his disposal, and I had access to the court. It seemed to me that one cannot get a good view of the sky carrying a platter on one's head, so I broke off relations with my friends and neglected my family affairs that I might day and night devote all my small abilities wholeheartedly to my official duties and so gain the liking and approval of the ruler. But then came the event when I made my big mistake and everything was changed.

Li Ling and I were both stationed in the palace, but we never had a chance to become friends. Our duties kept us apart; we never shared so much as a cup of wine, let alone enjoyed a closer friendship. But I observed that he conducted himself as no ordinary gentleman. He was filial toward his parents, honest with his colleagues, scrupulous about money, decent in his

大中华文库

【原文】

难，斯以奇矣。今举事一不当，而全躯保妻子之臣，随而媒蘖其短，仆诚私心痛之。且李陵提步卒不满五千，深践戎马之地，足历王庭，垂饵虎口，横挑强胡，仰亿万之师，与单于连战十有余日，所杀过半当。虏救死扶伤不给，旃裘之君长咸震怖，乃悉征其左右贤王，举引弓之人，一国共攻而围之。转斗千里，矢尽道穷，救兵不至，士卒死伤如积。然李陵一呼劳军，士卒无不起，躬自流涕，沫血饮泣，张空弮，冒白刃，北向争死敌者。陵未没时，使有来报，汉公卿王侯，皆奉觞上寿。后数日，陵败书闻，主上为之食不甘味，听朝不怡。大臣忧惧，不知所出。仆窃不自料其卑贱，见主上惨怆怛悼，诚欲效其款款之愚，以为李陵素与士大夫绝甘分少，能得人之死力，虽古之名将，不能过也。

【今译】

经是很少见的了。现在他行事稍有不当，那些只顾保全自己性命和妻室儿女利益的臣子们，便跟着挑拨是非，夸大过错，陷人于祸，我确实从内心感到痛惜。况且李陵带领的兵卒不满五千，深入敌人军事要地，到达单于的王庭，好像在老虎口上垂挂诱饵，向强大的匈奴勇敢地挑战，面对着亿万敌兵，同单于连续作战十多天，杀伤的敌人超过了自己军队的人数。敌人连救死扶伤都顾不上，匈奴的君王都十分震惊恐怖，于是就征调左、右贤王，发动了所有会拉弓放箭的人，举全国的军队共同围攻李陵。李陵转战千里，箭都射完了，进退之路已经断绝，救兵不来，士兵死伤成堆。但是，当李陵振臂一呼鼓舞士气的时候，士兵没有不奋起的，他们流着眼泪，一个个满脸是血，强忍悲泣，拉开空的弓弦，冒着白光闪闪的刀锋，向北拼死杀敌。当李陵的军队尚未覆没的时候，使者曾给朝廷送来战报，朝廷的公卿王侯都举杯为皇上庆贺。几天以后，李陵兵败的奏章传来，皇上为此而饮食乏味，处理朝政也不高兴。大臣们都很忧虑害怕，不知如何是好。我私下里并未考虑自己的卑贱，见皇上悲伤痛心，真心想献上我的恳切忠诚，我认为李陵向来与将士们同甘共苦，能够换得士兵们拼死效命的

behavior, yielding in matters of precedence, respectful, moderate, and polite to others. Carried away by his enthusiasm he never thought of himself but was ever there where his country needed him: such was his constant concern. To me he seemed to have the bearing of a national hero. A subject who exposes himself to a thousand deaths without regard for his own single life, and rushes to the defense of his country—that is a great man. That men who had been solely concerned with keeping themselves and their wives and children safe and sound should go out of their way to stir up trouble for him when he had made a single mistake was something that really pained my inmost feelings. Moreover Li Ling's troops numbered fewer than 5,000 when he led them deep into the territory of the nomads. They marched to the khan's court and dangled the bait in the tiger's mouth. They boldly challenged the fierce barbarians, in the face of an army of a million. For ten days running they fought the khan, killing more than their own number, so that the enemy were unable to retrieve their dead or rescue their wounded. The princes of felts and furs were all terror-stricken; they called on the neighboring lords to draft bowmen, and the whole nation joined to attack and surround Li Ling's troops. For a thousand miles they retreated, fighting as they went, until their arrows were exhausted and the road cut off. The relieving force had not arrived. Dead and wounded lay in heaps. But when Li Ling rallied his men with a cry, his soldiers rose to fight, with streaming tears and bloody faces. They swallowed their tears and brandishing their empty bows braved naked swords. Facing north they fought to the death with the enemy. Before Li Ling had reached this extremity a messenger brought news to the court and all the lords and princes raised their cups to

【原文】

身虽陷败，彼观其意，且欲得其当而报于汉。事已无可奈何，其所摧败，功亦足以暴于天下矣。仆怀欲陈之，而未有路，适会召问，即以此指推言陵之功，欲以广主上之意，塞睚眦之辞。未能尽明，明主不晓，以为仆沮贰师，而为李陵游说，遂下于理。拳拳之忠，终不能自列。因为诬上，卒从吏议。家贫，货赂不足以自赎，交游莫救；视左右亲近，不为一言。身非木石，独与法吏为伍，深幽囹圄之中，谁可告诉者？此真少卿所亲见，仆行事岂不然乎？李陵既生降，陨其家声；而仆又佴之蚕室，重为天下观笑。悲夫！悲夫！事未易一二为俗人言也。

【今译】

行动，即使是古代名将恐怕也没能超过他的。他虽然身陷重围、兵败投降，但看他的心意，是想寻找机会报效汉朝。事情已经到了无可奈何的地步，但他摧垮、打败敌军的功劳，也足以向天下人显示他的本心了。我内心打算向皇上陈述上面的看法，但没有得到适当的机会，恰逢皇上召见，询问我的看法，我就根据这些意见来论述李陵的功劳，想以此来宽慰皇上的胸怀，堵塞那些攻击、诬陷的言论。我没能完全说清我的意思，圣明的君主不理解，认为我是诋毁贰师将军，而为李陵辩解，于是将我交付狱官处罚。我的虔敬和忠诚的心意，始终没有机会陈述和辩白。我被判了欺上的罪名，皇上最后同意了法吏的判决。我家境贫寒，微薄的钱财不足以拿来赎罪，朋友们谁也不出面营救；皇帝左右的亲近大臣又不肯替我说一句话。我血肉之躯本非木头和石块，却与执法的官吏在一起，被深深地囚禁在牢狱之中，我向谁去诉说内心的痛苦呢？这些，正是少卿亲眼看见的，我的所作所为难道不正是这样吗？李陵投降以后，败坏了他的家族的名声；而我又被置于蚕室，更被天下人所耻笑。可悲啊！可悲！这些事情是不易逐一地向俗人解释的。

drink to his success. Some days later the message arrived announcing that he had been defeated. The news so affected the emperor that he found his food tasteless and took no pleasure in holding court. The great ministers were depressed and fearful, not knowing what course to take. When I saw the emperor in great distress of mind, I took no count of my own humble position, but wished to express my honest opinion: that Li Ling had always shared with his men, renouncing the sweet and dividing his short rations, so that he was able to get them to die for him—no famous general of antiquity surpassed him in this. And though he was now involved in defeat, it could be assumed that he intended to do what was right and make good his obligation to China. The situation was past remedying, but the losses he had already inflicted on the Hsiung-nu were such that his renown filled the empire. I wished to express these ideas but had no way to do so until by chance I was ordered to give an opinion. In these terms I extolled Li Ling's merits, hoping to get the emperor to take a wider view of things and at the same time to undo the charges of his enemies. I did not succeed in making myself clear, and the emperor, in his wisdom, did not understand, suspecting that I was criticizing the Second General Li Kuang-li, who headed the relief column, and that I was indulging in special pleading in behalf of Li Ling. As a result I was turned over to the judges, and despite all my heartfelt sincerity I was unable to justify myself. In the end it was decided that I was guilty of attempting to mislead the emperor. Being poor, I had insufficient funds to pay a fine in lieu of punishment. None of my friends came to my aid. My colleagues and associates spoke not a word on my behalf. My body is not of wood or stone: and I was alone with my jailors. When one is shut up in the depths of prison is there anyone he can appeal to? You have experienced this yourself, do you think it was otherwise with me? In giving himself up alive to the Hsiung-nu, Li Ling disgraced his family; in going to the silkworm chamber after his act I became doubly the laughingstock of the empire. Alas, alas! This is not a thing one can easily talk about to the vulgar.

【原文】

仆之先人非有剖符丹书之功，文史星历，近乎卜祝之间，固主上所戏弄，倡优所畜，流俗之所轻也。假令仆伏法受诛，若九牛亡一毛，与蝼蚁何以异？而世俗又不与能死节者，特以为智穷罪极，不能自免，卒就死耳。何也？素所自树立使然也。人固有一死，或重于泰山，或轻于鸿毛，用之所趋异也。太上不辱先，其次不辱身，其次不辱理色，其次不辱辞令，其次诎体受辱，其次易服受辱，其次关木索被棰楚受辱，其次剔毛发婴金铁受辱，其次毁肌肤断肢体受辱，最下腐刑，极矣。传曰："刑不上大夫。"此言士节不可不勉励也。猛虎在深山，百兽震恐，及在槛阱之中，摇尾而求食，积威约之渐也。故士有画地为牢

【今译】

我的祖先没有剖符丹书的功劳，职掌史籍和天文历法，类似于占卜祭祀之官，本来就是被皇上戏耍并当作倡优来畜养的人，是世俗所轻视的。假如我依法被处死，就好像是九牛的身上失掉一根毛，同死个蝼蛄或蚂蚁又有什么区别？世人又不会拿我的死与死于气节的人相比，只会认为我是智尽无能罪大恶极，不能免于死刑，而终于走向死路的啊。为什么会这样呢？这是我向来所从事的职业以及地位，使人们会这样认为。人本来都有一死，但有的人死得比泰山还重，有的人却死得比鸿毛还轻，这是因为他们生来所追求的东西不同啊。一个人最重要的是不污辱祖先，其次是使自身不受侮辱，再次是不因别人的脸色而受辱，再次是不因别人的言语而受辱，再次是被捆绑在地而受辱，再次是穿上囚服受辱，再次是戴上脚镣手铐、被杖击鞭笞而受辱，再次是被剃光头发、颈戴枷锁而受辱，再次是毁坏肌肤、断肢截体而受辱，最下等的是腐刑，受辱到了极点。《礼记》中说："刑罚不用在大夫身上。"这是说士人讲节操而不能不加以自勉。猛虎生活在深山之中，百兽都惊恐，等到它落入兽笼、陷阱之中时，就只得摇着尾巴乞求食物，这是由于人不断地使用威力进行约束而逐渐使它驯服的。

My father never earned tally and patent of nobility; as annalist and astrologer I was not far removed from the diviners and invokers, truly the plaything of the emperor, kept like any singing girl or jester, and despised by the world. Had I chosen to submit to the law and let myself be put to death, it would have been no more important than the loss of a single hair from nine oxen, no different from the crushing of an ant. No one would have credited me with dying for a principle; rather they would have thought that I had simply died because I was at my wit's end and my offence allowed no other way out. And why? They would think so because of the occupation in which I established myself. A man can die only once, and whether death to him is as weighty as Mount T'ai or as light as a feather depends on the reason for which he dies. The most important thing is not to disgrace one's ancestors, the next is not to disgrace one's self, the next not to disgrace one's principles, the next not to disgrace one's manners. Next worse is the disgrace of being put in fetters, the next is to wear a prisoner's garb, the next is to be beaten in the stocks, the next is to have the head shaved and a metal chain fastened around the neck, the next is mutilation, and the very worst disgrace of all is castration. It is said that corporal punishments are not applied to the great officers, implying that an officer cannot but be careful of his integrity. When the fierce tiger is in the depths of the mountain, all animals hold him in fear, but when he falls into a trap he waves his tail and begs for food: this is the end result of curtailing his dignity. Hence if you draw the plan of a jail on the ground, a gentleman will not step inside the figure, nor will he address even the wooden image of a jailor. In this way he shows his determination never to find himself in such a position. But let him cross his hands and feet to receive the bonds,

【原文】

势不可入，削木为吏议不可对，定计于鲜也。今交手足，受木索，暴肌肤，受榜棰，幽于圜墙之中。当此之时，见狱吏则头抢地，视徒隶则正惕息，何者？积威约之势也。及以至是，言不辱者，所谓强颜耳，曷足贵乎！且西伯，伯也，拘于羑里；李斯，相也，具于五刑；淮阴，王也，受械于陈；彭越、张敖，南面称孤，系狱抵罪；绛侯诛诸吕，权倾五伯，囚于请室；魏其，大将也，衣赭衣，关三木；季布为朱家钳奴；灌夫受辱于居室。此人皆身至王侯将相，声闻邻国，及罪至罔加，不能引决自裁。在尘埃之中，古今一体，安在其不辱也？由此言之，勇怯，势也；强弱，形也。审矣！何足怪乎？夫人不能早裁绳墨之外，

【今译】

所以，即使有个在地上画出的监牢，士人也决不能进入，有个用木头削成的假狱吏审判你也决不同他对答，这是由于早有主意，事先就态度鲜明。现在我的手脚交叉，被木枷锁住、绳索捆绑，皮肉暴露在外，受着棍打和鞭笞，关在牢狱之中。在这种时候，看见狱吏就叩头触地，看见牢卒就吓得心跳气喘，这是为什么呢？是狱吏长期用威力制约造成的。事情已经到了这种地步，再谈什么不受污辱，那就是人们常说的厚脸皮了，还有什么值得尊重的呢！况且，像西伯姬昌是诸侯的领袖，曾被拘禁在羑里；李斯是丞相，也受尽了五刑；淮阴侯韩信被封为王，却在陈地被戴上刑具；彭越、张敖被封为王，又被诬告有称帝野心，被捕入狱并定下罪名；绛侯周勃曾诛杀吕氏家族，一时间权力超过了春秋五霸，后来也被囚禁在请罪室中；魏其侯窦婴是一员大将，也穿上了囚衣，手、脚、颈项都套上了刑具；季布以铁圈束颈卖身给朱家当了奴隶；灌夫被拘于居室而受屈辱。这些人都已身居王侯将相之位，声名传扬到邻国，等到犯了罪受到法律制裁的时候，也不能下定决心自杀。在尘世之中，古今都一样，哪里有不受辱的呢？照这样说来，勇敢或怯懦，乃是地位所造成；强或弱，也是形势所决定。确实是这样！有什么值得奇怪的呢？况且一个人如果不能在受刑之前早

expose his back to receive the whip, and be incarcerated in the barred cell—by then when he sees the jailor he bows his head to the ground and at the sight of his underlings he pants in terror. And why? It is the result of the gradual curtailment of his dignity. If now he claims there has been no disgrace, he is devoid of a sense of shame and wholly unworthy of respect. Wen Wang was an earl, and yet he was held prisoner in Yu-li; Li Ssu was prime minister and yet was visited with all five punishments; Han Hsin was a prince and yet he was put in the stocks in Ch'en; P'eng Yüeh and Chang Ao each sat on a throne and called himself king, and yet the one was fettered in prison, the other put to death. Chou Po executed all the members of the Lü clan and his power was greater than that of the five earls, yet he was imprisoned in the dungeon awaiting death; Wei Ch'i was a great general, yet he wore the prisoner's uniform and was bound head, hands and feet; Chi Pu became a slave of the Chu clan; Kuan Fu bore dishonor in the guest chambers. These were all men of high rank and office and wide-spread reputation, but when they got into trouble with the law they were unable resolutely to put an end to themselves. It has always been the same: when one lies in the dirt there is no question of his not being disgraced. In the light of these examples, bravery and cowardice are a matter of circumstance, strength and weakness depend on conditions. Once this is understood, there is nothing to be surprised at in their behavior. If by failing to do away with himself before he is in the clutches of the law a man is degraded to the point of being flogged and then wishes to rescue

大中华文库

【原文】

以稍陵迟至于鞭棰之间，乃欲引节，斯不亦远乎？古人所以重施刑于大夫者，殆为此也。

夫人情莫不贪生恶死，念父母，顾妻子，至激于义理者不然，乃有所不得已也。今仆不幸，早失父母，无兄弟之亲，独身孤立，少卿视仆于妻子何如哉？且勇者不必死节，怯夫慕义，何处不勉焉！仆虽怯懦欲苟活，亦颇识去就之分矣。何至自沉溺缧绁之辱哉？且夫臧获婢妾，由能引决，况仆之不得已乎？所以隐忍苟活，幽于粪土之中而不辞者，恨私心有所未尽，鄙陋没世而文彩不表于后世也。

古者富贵而名磨灭，不可胜记，唯倜傥非常之人称焉。盖文王拘

【今译】

早地自杀，而到了受刑后志气衰微的时候，才想到保全节操，这种愿望和现实不是相距太远了吗？古人之所以慎重地对大夫用刑，大概就是因为这个缘故吧。

人之常情没有谁不贪生怕死的，都挂念父母，顾虑妻室儿女，至于那些激愤于正义公理的人当然不是这样，那也是迫不得已的情况。如今，我很不幸，早早地失去双亲，又没有兄弟相爱护，独身一人，孤立于世，少卿您看我对妻室儿女又有何眷恋呢？况且一个勇敢的人不一定要为名节去死，怯懦的人只要仰慕大义，又何处不能勉励自己呢！我虽然怯懦软弱想苟活在人世，但也颇能区分弃生就死的界限。哪会自甘沉溺于牢狱生活而忍受屈辱呢？再说奴隶婢妾，尚且能去自杀，何况像我这样到了不得已的地步的人呢？我之所以忍受着屈辱苟且活下来，陷于粪土般的污浊环境中而不肯死的原因，是自恨我内心的志愿还没有实现，如果在屈辱中离开人世，那我的文章就不能彰显于后世了。

古时候身虽富贵而名声却泯灭不传的人，多得不能逐一记述，只

his honor, has he not missed his chance? This is no doubt why the ancients were chary of applying corporal punishment to a great officer.

Now there is no man who does not naturally cling to life and avoid death, love his parents and cherish his wife and children. But the man who is devoted to the right sometimes has no choice but to behave otherwise. I early had the misfortune to lose my father and mother; I had no brothers and was quite alone. You have seen how little my affection for my wife and children deterred me from speaking out. But a brave man will not always die for his honor, and what efforts will not even a coward make in a cause to which he is devoted? I may be a coward and wish to live at the expense of my honor, but I surely know how to act appropriately. Would I have abandoned myself to the ignominy of being tied and bound? Even a miserable slave-girl is capable of putting an end to herself; could you expect less of me, when I had so little choice? If I concealed my feelings and clung to life, burying myself in filth without protest, it was because I could not bear to leave unfinished my deeply cherished project, because I rejected the idea of dying without leaving to posterity my literary work.

In the past there have been innumerable men of wealth and rank whose

【原文】

而演《周易》；仲尼厄而作《春秋》；屈原放逐，乃赋《离骚》；左丘失明，厥有《国语》；孙子膑脚，《兵法》修列；不韦迁蜀，世传《吕览》；韩非囚秦，《说难》、《孤愤》；《诗》三百篇，大抵圣贤发愤之所为作也。此人皆意有郁结，不得通其道，故述往事，思来者。乃如左丘无目，孙子断足，终不可用，退而论书策，以舒其愤，思垂空文以自见。

仆窃不逊，近自托于无能之辞，网罗天下放失旧闻，略考其行事，综其终始，稽其成败兴坏之纪，上计轩辕，下至于兹，为十表，本纪十二，书八章，世家三十，列传七十，凡百三十篇，亦欲以究天人之

【今译】

有那些卓异而不平常的人才能名扬后世。那就是：周文王被拘禁而推演出《周易》；孔子受困厄而作《春秋》；屈原被放逐后，才写了《离骚》；左丘明失明后，才有《国语》；孙膑被截去膝盖骨，《兵法》才撰写出来；吕不韦被贬谪蜀地，后世才流传着《吕氏春秋》；韩非被囚禁在秦国，写出《说难》、《孤愤》；《诗经》三百篇，大都是一些圣贤为抒发忧愤而写作的。这些人都是感情有压抑郁结不解之处，不能实现其理想，所以才记述过去的事迹，想让后来的人了解自己的志向。就像左丘明失去双目，孙膑断了双腿，终于不能被人重用，便退而著书立说，来抒发他们的怨愤，想让文章流传下来以表露自己的本心。

我私下里也自不量力，近来用我那不高明的文辞，收集天下散失的历史传闻，粗略地考证其事实，综述其事实的本末，推究其成败盛衰的道理，上自黄帝，下至当今，写成表十篇，本纪十二篇，书八篇，世家三十篇，列传七十篇，一共一百三十篇，也是想借此探求天道与人事之间的关系，贯通古往今来变化的脉络，完成有独特见解、自成

names died with them; only the outstanding and unusual are known today. It was when King Wen was in prison that he expanded the Chou yi; when Confucius was in straits he wrote the *Spring and Autumn Annals*; when Ch'ü Yüan was banished he composed the "Encountering Sorrow"; Tso Ch'iu lost his sight and so we have the *Conversations from the States*; Sun Tzu had his feet chopped off, and *The Art of War* was put together. Lü Pu-wei was demoted to Shu, from which has been preserved the *Synopticon of Lü*; Han Fei was imprisoned by Ch'in and wrote "Troubles of Persuasion" and "Solitary Outrage." The general purport of the 300 poems of the *Book of Songs* is the indignation expressed by the sages. All of these men were oppressed in their minds, and, unable to put into action their principles, wrote of the past with their eyes on the future. For example, Tso Ch'iu without sight and Sun Tzu with amputated feet were permanently disabled. They retired to write books in which they expressed their pent-up feelings, hoping to realize themselves in literature, since action was denied them.

I have ventured not to look for more recent models, but with what little literary ability I possess I have brought together the scattered fragments of ancient lore. I studied the events of history and set them down in significant order; I have written 130 chapters in which appears the record of the past—its periods of greatness and decline, of achievement and failure. Further it was my hope, by a thorough comprehension of the workings of affairs divine and human, and a knowledge of the historical process, to create a philosophy of my own. Before my draft was complete this disaster overtook me. It was my concern over my unfinished work that made me submit to the worst of all punishments without showing the rage I felt.

【原文】

际，通古今之变，成一家之言。草创未就，会遭此祸，惜其不成，是以就极刑而无愠色。仆诚以著此书藏之名山，传之其人，通邑大都，则仆偿前辱之责，虽万被戮，岂有悔哉？然此可为智者道，难为俗人言也。

且负下未易居，下流多谤议，仆以口语遇遭此祸，重为乡里所戮笑，以污辱先人，亦何面目复上父母之丘墓乎？虽累百世，垢弥甚耳！是以肠一日而九回，居则忽忽若有所亡，出则不知其所往。每念斯耻，汗未尝不发背沾衣也。身直为闺阁之臣，宁得自引深藏于岩穴

【今译】

体系的著作。草稿还没有完成，恰恰遭遇这场灾祸，我痛惜这部书没有完成，因此受到最残酷的刑罚也没有显露怒色。我确实想写完这部书，把它藏进名山，传给可传的人，再让它在都市之中流传，那便抵偿了我以前所受的侮辱，即便是受到再多的侮辱，又有什么后悔的呢？但是，这些只能向有见识的人诉说，却很难向世俗之人讲清楚啊。

再说，在背负恶名的情况下是不容易处世的，地位卑贱的人往往被人诽谤和议论，我因为多嘴说了几句话而遭遇这场大祸，深为家乡的人们羞辱嘲笑，污辱了祖宗，又有什么面目再到父母的坟墓上去祭扫呢？即使是到百代之后，这耻辱仍会更深啊！因此我的愁肠每日反复回转，坐在家中精神恍恍惚惚若有所失，出门则不知道往哪儿走。每当想到这种耻辱，冷汗就从脊背上冒出来沾湿衣服。我简直就是个宦官，还怎么能够自己引退，隐居在山林岩穴之中呢？所以只得随俗

When at last I shall have finished my book, I shall store it away in the archives to await the man who will understand it. When it finally becomes known in the world, I shall have paid the debt of my shame; nor will I regret a thousand deaths. However, this is something I can confide only to a person of intelligence; it would not do to speak of it to the vulgar crowd.

When one is in a compromising situation, it is not easy to justify oneself; the world is always ready to misrepresent one's motives. It was in consequence of my speaking out that I met disaster in the first place; were I to make myself doubly a laughingstock in my native place, to the disgrace of my forebears, how could I ever have the face again to visit the grave of my father and my mother? Even after a hundred generations my shame will but be the more. This is what makes my bowels burn within me nine times a day, so that at home I sit in a daze and lost, abroad I know not where I am going. Whenever I think of this shame the sweat drenches the clothes on my back. I am fit only to be a slave guarding the women's apartments: better that I should hide away in the farthest depths of the mountains. Instead I go on as best I can, putting up with whatever treatment is meted out to me, and so complete my degradation. And now you want me to recommend worthy

【原文】

邪？故且从俗浮沉，与时俯仰，以通其狂惑。今少卿乃教以推贤进士，无乃与仆私心剌谬乎！今虽欲自雕琢，曼辞以自饰，无益，于俗不信，适足取辱耳。要之死日，然后是非乃定。书不能悉意，略陈固陋，谨再拜。

【今译】

浮沉，跟着形势上下，以表现我内心的狂惑。如今少卿竟教导我要推贤进士，这不是与我个人的苦衷相违背吗！现在我虽然想自我美化一番，用美好的言词来为自己开脱，这也没有好处，因为世俗之人是不会相信的，只会使我自讨羞辱啊。总之，人要到死后的日子，然后是非才能够论定。书信不能完全表达心意，只是略为陈述我浅陋的意见罢了，恭敬地向您再拜。

men for advancement! Is this not rather the last thing in the world I would want to do? Even if I should want to deck myself out with fine words and elegant phrases, it would not help me any against the world's incredulity; it would only bring more shame on me. In short, I can hope for justification only after my death. In a letter I cannot say everything. What I have written is a crude and general statement of my feelings. Respectfully I bow to you.

(*Translated by J. R. Hightower*)

项羽本纪（节选）

【原文】

项王军壁垓下，兵少食尽，汉军及诸侯兵围之数重。夜闻汉军四面皆楚歌，项王乃大惊曰：“汉皆已得楚乎？是何楚人之多也！”项王则夜起，饮帐中。有美人名虞，常幸从；骏马名骓，常骑之。于是项王乃悲歌慷慨，自为诗曰：

力拔山兮气盖世，
时不利兮骓不逝。
骓不逝兮可奈何，
虞兮虞兮奈若何！

【今译】

项王的军队在垓下修筑了营垒，兵少粮尽，汉军及诸侯的军队把他们层层包围了起来。深夜听到汉军在四面唱着楚地的歌谣，项王大惊失色地说：“难道汉军已经完全取得了楚地？怎么楚国人这么多呢！”项王连夜起来，在帐中饮酒。回想过去，有美丽的虞姬，一直受宠跟在项王身边；有骏马名骓，项王一直骑着它。这时项王不禁慷慨悲歌，自己作诗吟唱道：

力量能拔山啊英雄气概举世无双，
时运不济啊骓马不再往前闯。
骓马不再前行啊可怎么办，
虞姬虞姬，该怎么妥善安排你啊！

The Death of Hsiang Yü (excerpt)

Hsiang Yü's army had built a walled camp at Kai-hsia, but his soldiers were few and his supplies exhausted. The Han army, joined by the forces of the other leaders, surrounded them with several lines of troops. In the night Hsiang Yü heard the Han armies all about him singing the songs of Ch'u. "Has Han already conquered Ch'u?" he exclaimed in astonishment. "How many men of Ch'u they have with them!" Then he rose in the night and drank within the curtains of his tent. With him were the beautiful lady Yüh, who enjoyed his favor and followed wherever he went, and his famous steed Dapple, which he always rode. Hsiang Yü, filled with passionate sorrow, began to sing sadly, composing this song:

My strength plucked up the hills,
My might shadowed the world;
But the times were against me,
And Dapple runs no more,
When Dapple runs no more,
What then can I do?
Ah, Yüh, my Yüh,
What will your fate be?

【原文】

歌数阕，美人和之。项王泣数行下，左右皆泣，莫能仰视。

于是项王乃上马骑，麾下壮士骑从者八百余人，直夜溃围南出，驰走。平明，汉军乃觉之，令骑将灌婴以五千骑追之。项王渡淮，骑能属者百余人耳。项王至阴陵，迷失道，问一田父，田父绐曰“左”。左，乃陷大泽中。以故汉追及之。项王乃复引兵而东，至东城，乃有二十八骑。汉骑追者数千人。项王自度不得脱，谓其骑曰：“吾起兵至今八岁矣，身七十余战，所当者破，所击者服，未尝败北，遂霸有天下。然今卒困于此，此天之亡我，非战之罪也。今日固决死，愿为诸君快战，必三胜之，为诸君溃围，斩将，刈旗，令诸君知天亡我，非战之罪也。”乃分其骑以为四队，四向。汉军围之数重。项王谓其

【今译】

项王唱了几遍，美人虞姬在一旁应和。项王眼泪一道道流下来，左右侍者也都跟着落泪，没有一个人能抬起头来看他。

于是项王骑上马，部下壮士八百多人骑马跟在后面，趁夜突破重围向南冲出，飞驰而逃。天快亮的时候，汉军才发觉，命令骑将灌婴带领五千骑兵去追赶。项王渡过淮河，部下壮士能跟上的只剩下一百多人了。项王到达阴陵，迷了路，去问一个农夫，农夫骗他说：“向左边走。”项王带人向左，陷进了大沼泽地中。因此汉兵追上了他们。项王又带着骑兵向东，到达东城，这时就只剩下二十八人。汉军骑兵追赶上来的有几千人。项王自己估计不能逃脱了，对他的骑兵说：“我带兵至今已经八年，亲自打了七十多仗，抵挡我的敌人都被打垮，我所攻击的敌人无不降服，从来没有失败过，因而能够称霸天下。可是如今被困在这里，这是上天要灭亡我，绝不是作战的过错啊。今天肯定得决心战死了，我愿意给诸位打个痛痛快快的仗，一定胜它三回，让诸位冲破重围，斩杀汉将，砍倒军旗，让诸位知道的确是上天要灭亡我，绝不是作战的过错。”于是把骑兵分成四队，面朝四个方向。

He sang the song several times through, and Lady Yüh joined her voice with his. Tears streamed down his face, while all those about him wept and were unable to lift their eyes from the ground.

Then he mounted his horse and, with some eight hundred brave horsemen under his banner, rode into the night, burst through the encirclement to the south, and galloped away. Next morning, when the king of Han became aware of what had happened, he ordered his cavalry general Kuan Ying to lead a force of five thousand horsemen in pursuit. Hsiang Yü crossed the Huai River, though by now he had only a hundred or so horsemen still with him. Reaching Yin-ling, he lost his way, and stopped to ask an old farmer for directions. But the farmer deceived him, saying, "Go left!" and when he rode to the left he stumbled into a great swamp, so that the Han troops were able to pursue and overtake him. Hsiang Yü once more led his men east until they reached Tung-ch'eng. By this time he had only twenty-eight horsemen, while the Han cavalry pursuing him numbered several thousand. Hsiang Yü, realizing that he could not escape, turned to address his horsemen: "It has been eight years since I first led my army forth. In that time I have fought over seventy battles. Every enemy I faced was destroyed, every one I attacked submitted. Never once did I suffer defeat, until at last I became dictator of the world. But now suddenly I am driven to this desperate position! It is because Heaven would destroy me, not because I have committed any fault in battle. I have resolved to die today. But before I die, I beg to fight bravely and win for you three victories. For your sake I shall break through the enemy's encirclement, cut down their leaders, and sever their banners that you may know it is Heaven which has destroyed me and no fault of mine in arms!" Then he divided his horsemen into four bands and faced them in four directions. When the Han army had surrounded them several layers deep, Hsiang Yü said to his horsemen, "I will get one of those generals for you!" He ordered his men to gallop in all four directions down the hill on which they were standing, with instructions to meet again on the east side of the hill and divide into three groups. He himself gave a great shout and galloped down the hill. The Han troops scattered before him and he succeeded in cutting down one of their

【原文】

骑曰："吾为公取彼一将。"令四面骑驰下，期山东为三处。于是项王大呼驰下，汉军皆披靡，遂斩汉一将。是时，赤泉侯为骑将，追项王，项王瞋目而叱之，赤泉侯人马俱惊，辟易数里。与其骑会为三处。汉军不知项王所在，乃分军为三，复围之。项王乃驰，复斩汉一都尉，杀数十百人，复聚其骑，亡其两骑耳。乃谓其骑曰："何如？"骑皆伏曰："如大王言。"

于是项王乃欲东渡乌江。乌江亭长舣船待，谓项王曰："江东虽小，地方千里，众数十万人，亦足王也。愿大王急渡。今独臣有船，汉军至，无以渡。"项王笑曰："天之亡我，我何渡为！且籍与江东子弟八千人渡江而西，今无一人还，纵江东父兄怜而王我，我何面目见之？纵彼不言，籍独不愧于心乎？"乃谓亭长曰："吾知公长者。吾骑此马五岁，所当无敌，尝一日行千里，不忍杀之，以赐公。"乃令

【今译】

汉军把他们层层包围。项王对骑兵们说："我来给你们拿下一员汉将。"命令四面骑士驱马飞奔而下，约定冲到山的东边分作三处集合。于是项王高声呼喊着冲了下去，汉军像草木随风伏倒一样溃败了，项王杀掉了一名汉将。这时，赤泉侯杨喜为汉军骑将，在后面追赶项王，项王瞪大眼睛呵叱他，赤泉侯连人带马都吓坏了，倒退了好几里。项王与他的骑兵在三处会合了。汉军不知项王的去向，就把部队分为三路，再次包围上来。项王驱马冲了上去，又斩了一名汉军都尉，杀死了几十上百个人，又聚拢骑兵，仅仅损失了两个人。项王问骑兵们："怎么样？"骑兵们都敬服地说："正像大王说的那样。"

这时候项王想要向东渡过乌江。乌江亭长正停船等在那里，对项王说："江东虽然小，但土地纵横各有一千里，民众有几十万，也足够称王啦。希望大王快快渡江。现在只有我这儿有船，汉军到了，没有办法渡过去。"项王笑了笑说："上天要灭亡我，我还渡乌江干什么！再说我和江东子弟八千人渡江西征，如今没有一个人回来，纵使江东

generals. At this time Yang Hsi was leader of the cavalry pursuing Hsiang Yü, but Hsiang Yü roared and glared so fiercely at him that all his men and horses fled in terror some distance to the rear. Hsiang Yü rejoined his men, who had formed into three groups. The Han army, uncertain which group Hsiang Yü was with, likewise divided into three groups and again surrounded them. Hsiang Yü once more galloped forth and cut down a Han colonel, killing some fifty to a hundred men. When he had gathered his horsemen together a second time, he found that he had lost only two of them. "Did I tell you the truth?" he asked. His men all bowed and replied, "You have done all you said."

Hsiang Yü, who by this time had reached Wu-chiang, was considering whether to cross over to the east side of the Yangtze. The village head of Wu-chiang, who was waiting with a boat on the bank of the river, said to him, "Although the area east of the river is small, it is some thousand miles in breadth and has a population of thirty, or forty thousand. It would still be worth ruling. I beg you to make haste and cross over. I am the only one who has a boat, so that when the Han army arrives they will have no way to get across!" Hsiang Yü laughed and replied, "It is Heaven that is destroying me. What good would it do me to cross the river? Once, with eight thousand sons from the land east of the river, I crossed over and marched west, but today not a single man of them returns. Although their fathers and brothers east of the river should take pity on me and make me their king, how could I bear to face them again? Though they said nothing of it, could I help but feel shame in my heart?" Then he added, "I can see that you are a worthy man. For five years I have ridden this horse, and I have never seen his equal. Again and again he has borne me hundreds of miles in a single day. Since I cannot bear to kill him, I give him to you." Hsiang Yü then ordered all his men to dismount and proceed on foot, and with their short swords to close in hand-to-hand combat with the enemy. Hsiang

【原文】

骑皆下马步行，持短兵接战。独籍所杀汉军数百人。项王身亦被十余创。顾见汉骑司马吕马童，曰："若非吾故人乎？"马童面之，指王翳曰："此项王也。"项王乃曰："吾闻汉购我头千金，邑万户，吾为若德。"乃自刎而死。王翳取其头，余骑相蹂践争项王，相杀者数十人。最其后，郎中骑杨喜，骑司马吕马童，郎中吕胜、杨武各得其一体。五人共会其体，皆是。故分其地为五：封吕马童为中水侯，封王翳为杜衍侯，封杨喜为赤泉侯，封杨武为吴防侯，封吕胜为涅阳侯。

项王已死，楚地皆降汉，独鲁不下。汉乃引天下兵欲屠之，为其守礼义，为主死节，乃持项王头视鲁，鲁父兄乃降。始，楚怀王初封

【今译】

父老兄弟怜爱我让我做王，我又有什么脸面去见他们？纵使他们不说什么，我项籍难道心中没有愧疚吗？"于是对亭长说："我知道您是位忠厚长者。我骑着这匹马征战了五年，所向无敌，曾经日行千里，我不忍心杀掉它，把它送给您吧。"于是命令骑兵都下马步行，手持短兵器与追兵交战。光项籍一个人就杀掉汉军几百人。项王身上也有十几处负伤。项王回头看见汉军骑司马吕马童，说："你不是我的老相识吗？"马童这时才跟项王打了个对脸儿，于是指给王翳说："这就是项王。"项王说"我听说汉王用千斤黄金，封邑万户悬赏我的人头，我就把这份好处送你吧。"说完自刎而死。王翳割下项王的头，其他骑兵互相践踏争抢项王的躯体，由于相争而死的有几十人。最后，郎中骑将杨喜，骑司马吕马童，郎中吕胜、杨武各争得一个肢体。五人到一块把肢体拼合，正好拼得上。因此，把项羽的土地分成五块：封吕马童为中水侯，封王翳为杜衍侯，封杨喜为赤泉侯，封杨武为吴防侯，封吕胜为涅阳侯。

项王死后，楚地全都投降了汉王，只有鲁县不降服。汉王率领天下之兵想要屠戮鲁城，但考虑到他们恪守礼义，为君主守节不惜一死，就拿着项王的头给鲁人看，鲁地父老这才投降。当初，楚怀王封项籍

Yü alone killed several hundred of the Han men, until he had suffered a dozen wounds. Looking about him, he spied the Han cavalry marshal Lü Ma-t'ung. "We are old friends, are we not?" he asked. Lü Ma-t'ung eyed him carefully and then, pointing him out to Wang Yi, said, "This is Hsiang Yü!" "I have heard that Han has offered a reward of a thousand catties of gold and a fief of ten thousand households for my head," said Hsiang Yü. "I will do you the favor!" And with this he cut his own throat and died. Wang Yi seized his head, while the other horsemen trampled over each other in a struggle to get at Hsiang Yü's body, so that twenty or thirty of them were killed. In the end cavalry attendant Yang Hsi, cavalry marshal Lü Ma-t'ung, and attendants Lü Sheng and Yang Wu each succeeded in seizing a limb. When the five of them fitted together the limbs and head, it was found that they were indeed those of Hsiang Yü. Therefore the fief was divided five ways, Lü Ma-t'ung being enfeoffed as marquis of Chung-shui, Wang Yi as marquis of Tu-yen, Yang Hsi as marquis of Ch'ih-ch'üan, Yang Wu as marquis of Wu-fang, and Lü Sheng as marquis of Nieh-yang.

With the death of Hsiang Yü, the entire region of Ch'u surrendered to Han, only Lu refusing to submit. The king of Han set out with the troops of the empire and was about to massacre the inhabitants of Lu. But because Lu had so strictly obeyed the code of honor and had shown its willingness to fight to the death for its acknowledged sovereign, he bore with him the

【原文】

项籍为鲁公，及其死，鲁最后下，故以鲁公礼葬项王谷城。汉王为发哀，泣之而去。

诸项氏枝属，汉王皆不诛。乃封项伯为射阳侯。桃侯、平皋侯、玄武侯皆项氏，赐姓刘。

【今译】

为鲁公，等他死后，鲁国又最后投降，所以，按照鲁公这一封号的礼仪把项王安葬在谷城。汉王给他发丧，哭了一通后才离去。

项氏宗族各系，汉王都不加杀戮。封项伯为射阳侯。桃侯、平皋侯、玄武侯都属于项氏，汉王赐姓刘。

head of Hsiang Yü and, when he showed it to the men of Lu, they forthwith surrendered. King Huai of Ch'u had first enfeoffed Hsiang Yü as duke of Lu, and Lu was the last place to surrender. Therefore, the king of Han buried Hsiang Yü at Ku-ch'eng with the ceremony appropriate to a duke of Lu. The king proclaimed a period of mourning for him, wept, and then departed.

All the various branches of the Hsiang family he spared from execution, and he enfeoffed Hsiang Po as marquis of She-yang. The marquises of T'ao, P'ing-kao, and Hsüan-wu were all members of the Hsiang family who were granted the imperial surname Liu.

(*Translated by Burton Watson*)

陈涉世家

【原文】

桀、纣失其道而汤、武作，周失其道而春秋作。秦失其政，而陈涉发迹，诸侯作难，风起云蒸，卒亡秦族。天下之端，自涉发难。作陈涉世家第十八。

陈胜者，阳城人也，字涉。吴广者，阳夏人也，字叔。陈涉少时，尝与人佣耕，辍耕之垄上，怅恨久之，曰："苟富贵，无相忘。"佣者笑而应曰："若为佣耕，何富贵也？"陈涉太息曰："嗟乎，燕雀安知鸿鹄之志哉！"

二世元年七月，发闾左适戍渔阳，九百人屯大泽乡。陈胜、吴广皆次当行，为屯长。会天大雨，道不通，度已失期。失期，法皆斩。

【今译】

桀、纣二王失去道义而汤、武二人兴起，周丧失了道义则春秋时期兴起。秦王朝政尽失，陈涉兴起，诸侯发难，风起云涌，最终灭亡了秦王朝。天下开端，始于陈涉起义。现写出陈涉世家第十八篇。

陈胜，阳城人，字涉。吴广，阳夏人，字叔。陈涉年轻的时候，曾经和别人一起被雇佣去耕田，他停止耕作，走到田埂上，惆怅怨恨了好一会儿，说："假如我将来富贵了，不会忘记你们这些兄弟。"同伴嘲笑他说："你是被雇给人家耕田的，哪能富贵呢？"陈涉叹息着说："唉，燕子、麻雀这类小鸟怎么能理解大雁、天鹅的远大志向呢！"

秦二世元年七月，征调闾左贫民去防守渔阳，一共有九百人驻扎在大泽乡。陈胜、吴广都编入这次征发的行列之中，当了屯长。恰逢天降大雨，道路不通，他们估计已经误了到达渔阳的期限。过了

The Hereditary House of Chen She

When Jie and Zhou sank into evil, Tang and Wu rose to replace them. When the way of Zhou faltered, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* were made. When Qin's rule failed, Chen She marched forth. The lords sprang to revolt like a great wind rising, like clouds that cover the sky, until the house of Qin at last crumbled. All the world took its cue from Chen She's rebellion. Thus I made "The Hereditary House of Chen She."[1]

Chen Sheng, whose polite name was Chen She, was a native of Yangcheng; Wu Guang, or Wu Shu, was from Yangxia. When Chen She was young, he was working one day in the fields with the other hired men. Suddenly he stopped his ploughing and went and stood on a hillock, wearing a look of profound discontent. After a long while he announced, "If I become rich and famous, I will not forget the rest of you!" The other farm hands laughed and answered, "You are nothing but a hired laborer. How could you ever become rich and famous?" Chen She gave a great sigh. "Oh, well," he said, "how could you little sparrows be expected to understand the ambitions of a swan?"

During the first year of the Second Emperor of Qin [209 BC],[2] in the seventh month, an order came for a force of 900 men from the poor side of the town to be sent to garrison Yuyang. Chen She and Wu Guang were

【原文】

陈胜、吴广乃谋曰："今亡亦死，举大计亦死，等死，死国可乎？"陈胜曰："天下苦秦久矣。吾闻二世少子也，不当立，当立者乃公子扶苏。扶苏以数谏故，上使外将兵。今或闻无罪，二世杀之。百姓多闻其贤，未知其死也。项燕为楚将，数有功，爱士卒，楚人怜之。或以为死，或以为亡。今诚以吾众诈自称公子扶苏、项燕，为天下唱，宜多应者。"吴广以为然。乃行卜。卜者知其指意，曰："足下事皆成，有功。然足下卜之鬼乎！"陈胜、吴广喜，念鬼，曰："此教我先威众耳。"乃丹书帛曰"陈胜王"，置人所罾鱼腹中。卒买鱼烹食，得鱼腹

【今译】

的期限，按照法律规定是要杀头的。陈胜、吴广就商量说："如今逃走也是死，起义干一番大事业也是死，同样都是死，为国事而死好不好？"陈胜说："天下受秦王朝统治之苦已经很久了。我听说二世皇帝是始皇帝的小儿子，不应该他来继位，应该继位的是公子扶苏。扶苏因为屡次规劝皇上的缘故，皇上派他领兵在外地驻守。如今有人听说他并没有什么罪，却被二世皇帝杀害了。老百姓都听说他很贤德，不知道他已经死了。项燕原是楚国的将军，多次立功，爱护士兵，楚国人都很爱戴他。有的人以为他已经死了，有的人以为他逃亡在外躲藏了起来。现在假使我们冒用公子扶苏和项燕的名义，向天下人民发出起义的号召，应该会有很多人响应。"吴广认为这样很对。于是他们就去占卜吉凶。占卜的人知道他们的意图，说："你们的事都能成，能够建功立业。但是你们向鬼神问过吉凶了吗！"陈胜、吴广很高兴，揣摩占卜人所说向鬼神问吉凶的意思，说："这是教我们先在众人中树立威望。"于是就用朱砂在一块绸子上写了"陈胜王"三个字，塞进别人用网捕来的鱼的肚子里。戍卒买鱼回来煮着吃，发现了鱼肚中的绸子，对这事自然觉得很奇怪了。陈胜又暗中派吴广到驻地附近一座草木丛生的古庙里，在夜里燃起篝火，模仿狐狸的声音叫喊道："大

among those whose turn it was to go, and they were appointed heads of the levy of men.[3] When the group had gone as far as Daze County, they encountered such heavy rain that the road became impassable. It was apparent that the men would be unable to reach the appointed place on time, an offence punishable by death. Chen She and Wu Guang accordingly began to plot together, "As things stand, we face death whether we stay or run away," they said, "while if we were to start a revolt we would likewise face death. Since we must die in any case, would it not be better to die fighting for our country?"[4] "The world has long suffered under Qin," said Chen She. "From what I have heard, the Second Emperor was a younger son and ought never to have succeeded to the throne. The one who should have been made ruler was Prince Fusu. But because Fusu several times remonstrated with the former emperor, he was sent to lead the armies in the field. Someone has told me that, though Fusu was guilty of no crime, he has been murdered by the Second Emperor. The common people have heard much of Fusu's worth, but they do not know that he is dead. Xiang Yan was a general of Chu who many times distinguished himself in battles. He took good care of his troops and the people of Chu thought fondly of him. Some say that he is dead, but others say that he is only in hiding. Now with the group we have, if we could deceive people into thinking that I am Fusu and you are Xiang Yan, we could lead the world in our own tune, and there are sure to be many who will join in the chorus!" Wu Guang approved of this idea, and they went to consult a diviner. The diviner guessed what the two were planning, and replied, "Your undertakings will all meet with success. But might you not seek your fortune with the spirits?"[5] Chen She and Wu Guang were delighted with the idea of enlisting supernatural aid in their scheme. "It must mean that we should first do something to overawe the men in our group!" they declared, and proceeded to write with cinnabar on a piece of silk: "Chen She shall be a king." They stuffed the silk into

【原文】

中书，固以怪之矣。又间令吴广之次所旁丛祠中，夜篝火，狐鸣呼曰："大楚兴，陈胜王。"卒皆夜惊恐。旦日，卒中往往语，皆指目陈胜。

吴广素爱人，士卒多为用者。将尉醉，广故数言欲亡，忿恚尉，令辱之，以激怒其众。尉果笞广。尉剑挺，广起，夺而杀尉。陈胜佐之，并杀两尉。召令徒属曰："公等遇雨，皆已失期，失期当斩。藉第令毋斩，而戍死者固十六七。且壮士不死即已，死即举大名耳，王侯将相宁有种乎！"徒属皆曰："敬受命。"乃诈称公子扶苏、项燕，从民欲也。袒右，称大楚。为坛而盟，祭以尉首。陈胜自立为将军，吴广为都尉。攻大泽乡，收而攻蕲。蕲下，乃令符离人葛婴将兵徇蕲以东。

【今译】

楚兴起，陈胜为王。"戍卒们都惊恐万分。第二天早晨，戍卒中到处议论纷纷，都指指点点地看着陈胜。

吴广一向关心别人，戍卒中很多人愿为他效劳出力。押送队伍的武官喝醉了酒，吴广故意多次扬言要逃跑，以激怒武官，惹他当众侮辱自己，借以激怒众人。那武官果然鞭打吴广。武官拔出佩剑，吴广奋起，夺剑杀死了武官。陈胜帮助他，合力杀死了两个武官。他们召集属下说："各位在这里遇上大雨，都误了期限，误期限按规定要杀头。即使不被杀头，但将来戍边死去的肯定也得十之六七。再说大丈夫不死便罢，要死就要名扬后世，王侯将相难道都是祖传的吗！"属下都异口同声地说："我们心甘情愿地听凭差遣。"于是就假冒公子扶苏和楚将项燕的名义起义，以顺应民众的愿望。大家都袒露右臂作为标志，号称大楚。他们又筑起高台来宣誓，用武官的头作祭品。陈胜任命自己做将军，吴广做都尉。他们进攻大泽乡，攻克后又攻打蕲县。蕲县攻克后，就派符离人葛婴率兵攻取蕲县以东的地方。一连进攻铚、酂、苦、柘、谯几个地方，都攻克了。他们一面进军一面不断招兵买马。

the belly of a fish someone had caught in a net. When one of the soldiers bought the fish and boiled it for the dinner, he discovered the message in the fish's belly and was greatly astonished. Also Chen She secretly sent Wu Guang to a grove of trees surrounding a shrine where the men were making camp. When night fell, Wu Guang lit a torch and, partly concealing it under a basket, began to wail like a fox and cry, "Great Chu shall rise again! Chen She shall be a king!" The soldiers were filled with alarm, and when dawn came they talked here and there among themselves, pointing and staring at Chen She.

Wu Guang had always been kind to others and many of the soldiers would do anything for him. When the officer in command of the group was drunk, Wu Guang made a point of openly announcing several times that he was going to run away. In this way Wu Guang hoped to arouse the commander's anger, get him to punish him, and so stir up the men's ire and resentment. As Wu Guang had expected, the commander began to beat him, when the commander's sword slipped out of the scabbard. Wu Guang sprang up, seized the sword, and killed the commander. Chen She rushed to his assistance and they proceeded to kill the other two commanding officers as well. Then they called together all the men of the group and announced: "Because of the rain we encountered, we cannot reach our rendezvous on time. And anyone who misses a rendezvous has his head cut off! Even if you should somehow escape with your heads, six or seven out of every ten of you are bound to die in the course of garrison duty. Now, my brave fellows, if you are unwilling to die, we have nothing more to say. But if you would risk death, then let us risk it for the sake of fame and glory! Kings and nobles, generals and ministers—such men are made, not born!" The men of garrison all replied, "We'll do whatever you say!" Then, in order to win the loyalty of the people, Chen She and Wu Guang falsely proclaimed themselves to be Prince Fusu and Xiang Yan. Baring their right shoulders,

【原文】

攻铚、酂、苦、柘、谯皆下之。行收兵。比至陈，车六七百乘，骑千余，卒数万人。攻陈，陈守令皆不在，独守丞与战谯门中。弗胜，守丞死，乃入据陈。数日，号令召三老、豪杰与皆来会计事。三老、豪杰皆曰："将军身被坚执锐，伐无道，诛暴秦，复立楚国之社稷，功宜为王。"陈胜乃立为王，号为张楚。

当此时，诸郡县苦秦吏者，皆刑其长吏，杀之以应陈涉。乃以吴叔为假王，监诸将以西击荥阳。令陈人武臣、张耳、陈馀徇赵地，令汝阴人邓宗徇九江郡。当此时，楚兵数千人为聚者，不可胜数。

葛婴至东城，立襄强为楚王。婴后闻陈王已立，因杀襄强，还报。至陈，陈王诛杀葛婴。陈王令魏人周市北徇魏地。吴广围荥阳。李由

【今译】

等行进到了陈地的时候，已拥有兵车六七百辆，骑兵一千多，步卒好几万人。攻打陈地时，那里的郡守、县令正好都不在，只有留守的郡丞领兵与起义军在城门下作战。结果郡丞兵败身死，于是起义军就进入城中占领了陈地。过了几天，陈胜下令召集掌管教化的官员和地方名流都来开会议事。教化官、名流都说："将军您身披铠甲手执利器，讨伐无道昏君，诛灭暴虐的秦王朝，重新建立了楚国的政权，论功劳应该称王。"陈胜于是就自立为王，国号为张楚。

在这个时候，各个郡县受不了秦朝官吏暴政之苦的人，都起来征讨地方官吏，把他们杀死以响应陈涉。于是就以吴广为代理王，督率各将领向西进攻荥阳。命令陈地人武臣、张耳、陈馀去攻占原来赵国的辖地，命令汝阴人邓宗攻占九江郡。这时候，楚地几千人聚集在一起起义的，多得不计其数。

葛婴到达东城，立襄强为楚王。葛婴后来听说陈胜已自立为王，于是就杀了襄强，回来向陈胜报告。一到陈地，陈胜就杀了葛婴。陈胜命令魏人周市北上攻取原属魏国的地方。吴广包围了荥阳。李由任

they raised the cry of "Great Chu!" and built an alter and swore an oath before it, offering as a sacrifice the heads of the commanding officers. Chen She set himself up as commander of the army, with Wu Guang as his colonel, and together they attacked Daze County. After capturing Daze County, they proceeded to attack and capture Qi. They dispatched Ge Ying, a man of Fuli, with a force to seize control of the area east of Qi, while they themselves attacked Zhi, Zan, Ku, Zhe, and Qiao, all of which submitted. Recruiting soldiers as they went along, they were able by the time they reached the city of Chen to build up a force of 600 or 700 chariots, over 1,000 horsemen, and 20,000 or 30,000 infantry. When they attacked Chen, neither the governor of the province nor any of the magistrates of the districts under him were in the city. Only one of the governor's aides was present, who engaged them in battle at the Qiao Gate but was defeated and killed. They entered the city and quartered there for several days, sending out an order summoning all the village heads and important men of the region to meet with them and plan a course of action. To this the village heads and distinguished men replied, "The general has buckled on armor and taken up his weapons to attack the unrighteous and punish the violence of Qin, that he may restore once more the sacred altars of the state of Chu. Because of the glory he has won, he deserves to be made a king."

Chen She accordingly was made king and given the title "Magnifier of Chu," whereupon men in many of the other provinces and districts who had suffered under the Qin officials overpowered and murdered their governors and magistrates and allied themselves with Chen She. Chen She made Wu Guang an acting king with supervision over the other leaders of their band, and sent him west to attack Xingyang.[6] Chen She ordered Zhang Er, Chen Yu, and Wu Chen, a man of Chen, to seize the region of Zhao, while he sent Deng Zong, a native of Ruyin, to seize the province of Jiujiang. By this time a countless number of bands consisting of several thousand men each had been formed throughout Chu.

When Ge Ying, who had been sent by Chen She to seize the land east of Chi, reached Dongcheng, he set up Xiang Qiang as king of Chu. Later,

【原文】

为三川守，守荥阳，吴叔弗能下。陈王征国之豪杰与计，以上蔡人房君蔡赐为上柱国。

周文，陈之贤人也，尝为项燕军视日，事春申君，自言习兵，陈王与之将军印，西击秦。行收兵至关，车千乘，卒数十万，至戏，军焉。秦令少府章邯免郦山徒、人奴产子生，悉发以击楚大军，尽败之。周文败，走出关，止次曹阳二三月。章邯追败之，复走次渑池十余日。章邯击，大破之。周文自刭，军遂不战。

武臣到邯郸，自立为赵王，陈馀为大将军，张耳、召骚为左右丞相。陈王怒，捕系武臣等家室，欲诛之。柱国曰："秦未亡而诛赵王将相家属，此生一秦也。不如因而立之。"陈王乃遣使者贺赵，而徙系武

【今译】

三川郡守，防守荥阳，吴广久攻不下。陈胜召集国内的名流商量对策，任命上蔡人房君蔡赐做上柱国。

周文是陈地有才德的人，曾经当过项燕军中的占卜望日官，也在春申君手下做过事，他自称熟悉用兵，陈王就授予他将军印，让他带兵西去攻秦。他一路上边走边招兵买马，到达函谷关的时候，有战车千辆，士兵几十万人，到了戏亭时，就驻扎了下来。秦王朝派少府章邯赦免了因犯罪而在骊山服役的人以及家奴所生的儿子，全部调集来攻打张楚的大军，全给打败了。周文战败之后，逃出了函谷关，在曹阳驻留了两三个月。章邯追来把他打败了，他又逃到渑池驻留了十几天。章邯又来追击，把他打得惨败。周文自杀身亡，他的军队也就不能作战了。

武臣到达邯郸后，自封为赵王，陈馀做大将军，张耳、召骚任左、右丞相。陈王非常生气，把武臣等人的家属逮捕囚禁了起来，打算杀死他们。上柱国蔡赐说："秦王朝还没有灭亡就杀了赵王将相的家属，这等于是又生出一个与我们为敌的秦国来。不如就此封立他好些。"

hearing Chen She had already become king himself, he murdered Xiang Qiang and returned to report what he had done to Chen She. Chen She executed him, and dispatched Zhou Shi, a native of Wei, to march north and seize the region of Wei. Meanwhile Wu Guang surrounded the city of Xingyang, but Li You, the governor of Sanchuan, held the city, and Wu Guang was unable to conquer it. Chen She summoned the distinguished men of the state of Chu to meet with him and plan the next move. He appointed Cai Ci, the lord of Fang, a man of Shangcai, as his chief minister.

Zhou Wen, a man of some distinction in Chen, had formerly been diviner of auspicious days in the army of Xiang Yan and had also served under the lord of Chunshen. When he declared himself adept in military affairs, Chen She presented him with the seals of a general and sent him west to attack Qin. Gathering troops as he went along, he entered the Pass[7] with a force of 1,000 chariots and 20,000 or 30,000 infantry and camped at Xi. Qin ordered its privy treasurer, Zhang Han, to free all conscript laborers at Mt. Li,[8] and the children of household slaves, and lead them forth in an attack upon the army of Chu. They succeeded in rooting it, whereupon Zhou Wen fled back through the pass in defeat, halting and camping at Caoyang for several months. Zhang Han pursued him and defeated him again, and Zhou Wen once more fled, camping at Mianchi for ten days or more. Here Zhang Han inflicted a final defeat, Zhou Wen cut his throat, and his army ceased all further resistance.

When Wu Chen reached Handan in Zhao, he set himself up as king of Zhao, making Chen Yu his commanding general and Zhang Er and Shao Sao his prime ministers of the left and right. Chen She was enraged at this and seized and bound the members of their families, preparing to execute them. But the chief minister, Cai Ci, interceded, saying, "Qin, our great enemy, has not yet been destroyed. Now if you execute the families of the king of Zhao and his ministers, you will only create a second Qin to plague

【原文】

臣等家属宫中，而封耳子张敖为成都君，趣赵兵亟入关。赵王将相相与谋曰："王王赵，非楚意也。楚已诛秦，必加兵于赵。计莫如毋西兵，使使北徇燕地以自广也。赵南据大河，北有燕、代，楚虽胜秦，不敢制赵。若楚不胜秦，必重赵。赵乘秦之弊，可以得志于天下。"赵王以为然，因不西兵，而遣故上谷卒史韩广将兵北徇燕地。

燕故贵人豪杰谓韩广曰："楚已立王，赵又已立王。燕虽小，亦万乘之国也，愿将军立为燕王。"韩广曰："广母在赵，不可。"燕人曰："赵方西忧秦，南忧楚，其力不能禁我。且以楚之强，不敢害赵王将相之家，赵独安敢害将军之家！"韩广以为然，乃自立为燕王。居数月，赵奉燕王母及家属归之燕。

【今译】

陈王于是派遣使者前往赵国祝贺，同时把武臣等人的家属迁移到宫中软禁起来，又封张耳的儿子张敖做成都君，催促赵国的军队速进军函谷关。赵王武臣的将相们商议说："大王您在赵国称王，并不是楚国的本意。等到楚灭秦以后，一定会来攻打赵国。最好的办法莫过于不派兵向西进军，而派人向北攻取原来燕国的辖地以扩大我们自己的土地。赵国南面据黄河天险，北面又有燕、代的广大土地，楚国即使战胜了秦国，也不敢来压制赵国。如果楚国不能战胜秦国，必定就会借重赵国。到时候赵国趁着秦国的疲敝，就可以得志于天下了。"赵王认为说得有道理，因而不向西出兵，而派遣原上谷郡卒史韩广领兵北上去攻取燕地。

燕国原来的贵族豪强劝告韩广说："楚国已经立了王，赵国也已立了王。燕国地方虽然小，过去也是个拥有万辆兵车的国家，希望将军您自立做燕王。"韩广回答说："我的母亲还留在赵国，使不得。"燕人说"赵国现在正西面担忧秦，南面担忧楚，他的力量不足以限制我们。况且以楚国的强大，都不敢杀害赵王将相的家属，赵国又怎敢单单杀害将军您的家属呢！"韩广认为他们说的有道理，于是就自立做了燕王。过了几个月，赵国派人护送燕王的母亲及家属回到了燕国。

us. It would be better to comply with what Wu Chen and the others have done and confirm their positions." Chen She accordingly dispatched an envoy to congratulate Wu Chen on his new position as king of Zhao, but the families of Wu Chen and the others he has transferred to his own palace and kept under guard. Zhang Er's son, Zhang Ao, he enfeoffed as lord of Chengdu. Chen She urged the troops of Zhao to proceed with all haste to the area within the Pass, but Zhao's generals and ministers plotted with their king, saying, "It was not Chen She's intention that you should become king of Zhao. When he has finished conquering Qin, he will assuredly turn his forces against us. The best plan, therefore, would be for us not to dispatch troops west, but instead to send a force north to seize the region of Yan and broaden the territory under your command. With the Yellow River to protect Zhao in the south, and Yan and Dai to the north in our possession, Chen She in Chu will not dare try to impose his will upon us, even if he is victorious over Qin. And if Chen She should fail to conquer Qin, he will be forced to rely more heavily than ever upon us. At that point we can take advantage of the damage already inflicted upon Qin by Chen She and have our way with the whole empire!" The king of Zhao approved all their suggestions and sent no troops west, but instead dispatched Han Guang, a former troop commander of the province of Shanggu, to lead an army north and seize the region of Yan.

The former nobles and leaders of Yan addressed Han Guang, saying, "Chu has already set up a king, and so has Zhao. Although Yan is rather small, it still deserves to be called, as the old phrase has it, 'a kingdom of ten thousand chariots.' We would like therefore to make you king of Yan." Han Guang, however, objected. "My mother is still in Zhao," he said. "I am afraid it would not do!" But the men of Yan replied, "Zhao at the present time has all it can do to worry about Qin in the west and Chu to the south. It has no strength left to interfere with what we do. Chen She, in spite of all his power, did not dare to harm the families of the king and ministers of Zhao. How should Zhao dare to do any harm to your family?" Han Guang, considering that what they said was true, declared himself king of Yan. After a few months Zhao with all due respect sent his mother and the rest of his family to him in Yan.

【原文】

当此之时，诸将之徇地者，不可胜数。周市北徇地至狄，狄人田儋杀狄令，自立为齐王，以齐反，击周市。市军散，还至魏地，欲立魏后故宁陵君咎为魏王。时咎在陈王所，不得之魏。魏地已定，欲相与立周市为魏王，周市不肯。使者五反，陈王乃立宁陵君咎为魏王，遣之国。周市卒为相。

将军田臧等相与谋曰："周章军已破矣，秦兵旦暮至，我围荥阳城弗能下，秦军至，必大败。不如少遗兵，足以守荥阳，悉精兵迎秦军。今假王骄，不知兵权，不可与计，非诛之，事恐败。"因相与矫王令以诛吴叔，献其首于陈王。陈王使使赐田臧楚令尹印，使为上将。

【今译】

在这个时候，到各地去攻城占地的将领，数不胜数。周市北上攻城掠地到达了狄县，狄县人田儋杀死了狄县县令，自立为齐王，凭借齐地的力量来反击周市。周市的军队溃散了，退回到了魏地，打算立魏王的后代宁陵君咎做魏王。当时咎在陈王那里，不能回到魏地去。魏地平定以后，大家想共同拥立周市做魏王，周市不肯接受。使者先后五次往返于陈王与周市之间，陈王才答应立宁陵君咎做魏王，遣送他回到魏国去。周市最后做了魏国的丞相。

将军田臧等人一起谋划说："周文的军队已经溃散，秦国的军队早晚要到来，我们包围荥阳城久攻不下，如果秦国的军队到来，一定会被打得大败。不如留下少量的部队，足以守住荥阳就可以了，把其余精锐的军队全部拿来迎击秦军。现在代理王吴广骄横，又不懂用兵权谋，这样的人无法和他商量议事，不杀了他，我们的计划恐怕会被搞坏。"于是他们就假冒陈王的命令杀掉了吴广，把吴广的头献给了陈王。陈王派使者赐给田臧楚令尹大印，任命他做上将军。田臧部将李归等人驻守荥阳城，自己带了精锐的部队西进到敖仓迎战秦军。

By this time there were any number of leaders of the revolt attempting to win control of different regions of the empire. Zhou Shi raided the north as far as Di in Qi. Tian Dan, a native of Di, murdered the magistrate of the district of Di and declared himself king of Qi. He then proceeded to lead the forces of Qi in an attack on Zhou Shi. Zhou Shi's army scattered before him, turned back, and retreated to the region of Wei. Zhou Shi wanted to set up Wei Jiu, the former lord of Ningling, who was a descendant of the royal family of Wei, as king of Wei, but Jiu was at the time with Chen She and so was not able to come to Wei. After Zhou Shi's men had conquered the region of Wei, they wanted to join the people of Wei in setting up Zhou Shi himself as king, but Zhou Shi refused to consent. Five times envoys were sent back and forth between Wei and Chen She in an attempt to reach a solution, until finally Chen She agreed to make Jiu the king of Wei, and sent him to his new kingdom. Zhou Shi in the end became his prime minister.

Tian Zang, one of Chen She's generals, plotted with his fellow officers, saying, "Since Zhou Wen's army has been defeated, Qin's soldiers may be on us at any moment. Now we have encircled the city of Xingyang, but we have been unable to take it. When the armies of Qin reach us we are sure to suffer a great defeat. It would be better to leave a small number of troops behind, sufficient to keep watch on Xingyang, and lead our best men west to meet the Qin armies. Our leader, Wu Guang, who has been made an acting king, is too arrogant and knows nothing of military tactics. He is not worth consulting with on matters of strategy. If we do not do away with him our whole undertaking will be in danger of collapse!" Accordingly they joined in forging orders from Chen She and proceeded to execute Wu Guang and send his head to Chen She. Chen She in turn sent an envoy to reward Tian Zang with the official seals of prime minister of Chu, making him commanding general. Tian Zang then ordered Li Gui and some of his other generals to guard the city of Xingyang, while he himself led his best troops west to meet the army of Qin at the Ao Granary and join in battle.

【原文】

田臧乃使诸将李归等守荥阳城，自以精兵西迎秦军于敖仓。与战，田臧死，军破。章邯进兵击李归等荥阳下，破之，李归等死。

阳城人邓说将兵居郯，章邯别将击破之，邓说军散走陈。铚人伍徐将兵居许，章邯击破之，伍徐军皆散走陈。陈王诛邓说。

陈王初立时，陵人秦嘉、铚人董绁、符离人朱鸡石、取虑人郑布、徐人丁疾等皆特起，将兵围东海守庆于郯。陈王闻，乃使武平君畔为将军，监郯下军。秦嘉不受命，嘉自立为大司马，恶属武平君。告军吏曰："武平君年少，不知兵事，勿听！"因矫以王命杀武平君畔。

章邯已破伍徐，击陈，柱国房君死。章邯又进兵击陈西张贺军。陈王出监战，军破，张贺死。

【今译】

双方展开鏖战，田臧战死，军队溃散。章邯领兵到荥阳城下来攻打李归这些人，打败了他们，李归等人战死。

阳城人邓说领兵驻扎在郯城，被章邯部将所带的一支部队击败，邓说率军溃逃到陈地。铚人伍徐率兵驻扎在许县，也被章邯的军队击溃了，伍徐的军队都溃散逃到了陈地。陈王杀了邓说。

陈胜刚刚自立为王时，陵县人秦嘉、铚县人董绁、符离人朱鸡石、取虑人郑布、徐县人丁疾等都单独起兵反秦，他们领兵把东海郡守名叫庆的围困在郯城。陈王听说后，就派武平君畔做将军，督率郯城下的各路军队。秦嘉拒不接受这个命令，自立为大司马，讨厌隶属于武平君。他告诉自己的军吏说："武平君年轻，不懂得军事，不要听他的！"接着就假托陈王的命令杀死了武平君畔。

章邯打败伍徐以后，接着进攻陈地，陈王的上柱国房君蔡赐战死了。章邯又领兵进攻驻守在陈地西面的张贺部队。陈王亲自出来督战，结果楚军还是战败，张贺阵亡。

Tian Zang was killed and his army defeated. The Qin commander Zhang Han advanced with his troops and attacked Li Gui and the others before the walls of Xingyang, defeating and killing them.

A man of Yangcheng named Deng Yue was at this time in charge of a force of men in Tan. Zhang Han dispatched an expeditionary force to attack and crush him, whereupon Deng Yue's army scattered and fled to Chen. Wu Xu, a man of Zhi, held command of a force at Xu, but when attacked by Zhang Han his army, too, scattered and fled to Chen. Chen She executed Deng Yue.

At the time when Chen She first set himself up as a king a group of men, including Qin Jia of Ling, Dong Xie of Zhi, Zhu Jishi of Fuli, Zheng Bu of Qulü, and Ding Ji of Xu, started an uprising of their own, leading a band of troops to surround Qing, the governor of Donghai, at Tan. When Chen She received word of this he dispatched Pan, the lord of Wuping, to act as their commander and take charge of their forces, which were camped outside the walls of Tan. Qin Jia, however, declined to accept these orders, but instead declared himself a grand marshal and refused to put himself under the lord of Wuping's command. "The lord of Wuping is too young and knows nothing of military affairs," he advised his officers. "Do not listen to what he says!" Accordingly they forged an order from Chen She and executed the lord of Wuping.

After Zhang Han had defeated Wu Xu he marched to attack the city of Chen, killing Cai Ci, the chief minister. He then advanced and attacked the army of Zhang He west of Chen. Chen She came out to observe the battle, but the army was defeated and Zhang He killed.

【原文】

腊月，陈王之汝阴，还至下城父，其御庄贾杀以降秦。陈胜葬砀，谥曰隐王。

陈王故涓人将军吕臣为仓头军，起新阳，攻陈下之，杀庄贾，复以陈为楚。

初，陈王至陈，令铚人宋留将兵定南阳，入武关。留已徇南阳，闻陈王死，南阳复为秦。宋留不能入武关，乃东至新蔡，遇秦军，宋留以军降秦。秦传留至咸阳，车裂留以徇。

秦嘉等闻陈王军破出走，乃立景驹为楚王，引兵之方与，欲击秦军定陶下。使公孙庆使齐王，欲与并力俱进。齐王曰："闻陈王战败，不知其死生，楚安得不请而立王！"公孙庆曰："齐不请楚而立王，楚何故请齐而立王！且楚首事，当令于天下。"田儋诛杀公孙庆。

【今译】

十二月，陈王退到了汝阴，在回到下城父时，他的车夫庄贾杀了他投降秦军。陈胜死后安葬在砀县，谥号隐王。

陈王从前的侍臣吕臣将军组织了一支青巾裹头的"苍头军"，从新阳起兵攻打陈地，攻克后，杀死了庄贾，又以陈地作为楚国的都城。

当初，陈王刚到陈地的时候，曾命令铚县人宋留领兵去平定南阳，再进兵武关。宋留攻占了南阳之后，传来了陈王被杀的消息，于是南阳又被秦军夺了回去。宋留不能进入武关，就往东到了新蔡，不料又遇上了秦军，宋留带着部队投降了秦军。秦军押解宋留到了咸阳，将他五马分尸示众。

秦嘉等人听说陈王的军队已经兵败逃走了，就立景驹做了楚王，率兵到了方与，准备在定陶附近攻击秦军。同时派公孙庆出使齐国去见齐王田儋，想联合他一同进兵。齐王说："听说陈王战败了，至今生死不明，楚国怎么能不来向我请示就自立为王呢！"公孙庆说："齐国不请示楚国而立王，楚国为什么要向齐国请示才能立王呢！何况楚是首先起义反秦的，理当号令天下。"田儋杀死了公孙庆。

In the twelfth month, at the time of the winter sacrifice, Chen She journeyed to Ruyin and from there withdrew to Xiachengfu, where he was murdered by his carriage driver, Zhuang Jia, who declared Chen loyal to the Qin government. Chen She was buried at Dang with the posthumous title of "The Melancholy King."

General Lü Chen, former master of purification under Chen She, formed a band of men known as the Blue Heads and started an uprising in Xinyang. They attacked and conquered the city of Chen, killed Zhuang Jia and declared Chen loyal to Chu once more.

When Chen She first marched on Chen he dispatched Song Liu, a man of Zhi, with orders to lead a force of troops west to conquer the region of Nanyang and enter the Wu Pass. Song Liu had already gained control of Nanyang, but when news of Chen She's death spread abroad, Nanyang declared itself loyal again to Qin. Song Liu was therefore unable to enter the Wu Pass, but instead marched back east as far as Xincai, where he encountered the Qin army and surrendered to it. The Qin government had him brought back to the capital by relay carriages, where he was tied to two carts and torn apart to serve as a warning to the populace.

When Qin Jia and his band heard that Chen She's army had been defeated and was in flight they set up Jing Ju as king of Chu and led their troops to Fangyu, planning to attack the Qin army outside the walls of Dingtao. In the meantime they dispatched Gongsun Qing as their envoy to Tian Dan, the king of Qi, requesting that Qi join with them in the attack. "Though word has come that Chen She has been defeated, no one knows whether he is still alive or not," said the king of Qi. "What do you mean by setting up a new king of Chu without consulting me?" "You did not consult Chu when you set yourself up as king of Qi," responded Gongsun Qing. "Why should Chu consult Qi when it sets up its own king? Chu is the leader of the uprising. It is only proper that she should give orders to the rest of the empire!" The king of Qi executed Gongsun Qing.

【原文】

秦左右校复攻陈，下之。吕将军走，收兵复聚。鄱盗当阳君黥布之兵相收，复击秦左右校，破之青波，复以陈为楚。会项梁立怀王孙心为楚王。

陈胜王凡六月。已为王，王陈。其故人尝与佣耕者闻之，之陈，扣宫门曰："吾欲见涉。"宫门令欲缚之。自辩数，乃置，不肯为通。陈王出，遮道而呼涉。陈王闻之，乃召见，载与俱归。入宫，见殿屋帷帐，客曰："伙颐！涉之为王沉沉者！"楚人谓多为伙，故天下传之，伙涉为王，由陈涉始。客出入愈益发舒，言陈王故情。或说陈王曰："客愚无知，颛妄言，轻威。"陈王斩之。诸陈王故人皆自引去，由是

【今译】

秦的左右校尉率领部队再次进攻陈地，并占领了它。将军吕臣失败逃跑后，重新集结兵马。与当年在鄱阳为盗后被封为当阳君的黥布所率领的军队联合起来，又攻击秦左右校尉的军队，在青波把他们打败了，再度以陈地作为楚都。这时正好项梁立楚怀王的名叫心的孙子做了楚王。

陈胜称王总共六个月的时间。当了王之后，以陈地为国都。从前一位曾经与他一起受雇给人家耕田的伙计听说他做了王，来到了陈地，敲着宫门说："我要见陈涉。"守宫门的长官要把他捆绑起来。经他反复解释，才放开他，但仍然不肯为他通报。等陈王出门时，他拦路呼喊陈涉的名字。陈王听到了，才召见了他，与他同乘一辆车子回宫。走进宫殿，看见殿堂房屋、帷幕帐帘之后，客人说："伙颐！陈涉大王的宫殿高大深邃啊！"楚地人把"多"叫做"伙"，所以天下流传说，"伙涉为王"的俗语，就是从陈涉开始的。这客人在宫中出出进进越来越随便放肆，常常跟人讲陈涉从前的一些旧事。有人就对陈王说："您的客人愚昧无知，专门胡说八道，有损于您的威严。"陈王就把客人杀死了。陈王的故旧知交都纷纷自动离去，于是再也没有亲近陈王的人了。陈王任命朱房做中正、胡武做司过，专门督察群臣的

Qin's colonels of the left and right again attacked Chen and recaptured it. Lü Chen's army fled, but soon recruited more men and reformed. Qing Bu, the lord of Dangyang, a bandit leader of Po, recruited a force of men and joined Lü Chen in another attack on the colonels of Qin, defeating them at Qingbo. With this, the city of Chen once more became an ally of Chu. It was at this time that Xiang Liang set up Xin, the grandson of the former King Huai, as the new king of Chu.

All in all, Chen She was a king for six months. When he had become king and was ruling the region of Chen, one of his old friends who had once worked as a hired hand with him in the fields heard of his success and went and knocked upon the palace gate of Chen, saying, "I want to see She!" The gatekeeper was about to order him arrested, but he managed to convince the keeper that he was an old friend of Chen She. The gatekeeper let him go, but refused to allow him to enter the palace. When the King emerged from the palace, the man stood by the roadside and shouted "She!" Hearing his voice, Chen She ordered that he be brought forward and, inviting him to ride in his carriage, retuned with him to the palace. When the man entered the palace and saw all its great halls with their curtains and trappings he said, "Oh, a heap of stuff you have, She, now you're a king! Such a big place!" (The people of Chu say "a heap" when they mean a lot.) Eventually the story spread over the empire, so that from this incident with Chen She originated the saying "Even 'heap-of-She' got to be king." After this the old friend came often to visit Chen She, making himself more and more at home in the palace and telling people about Chen She's life in the old days. Someone warned Chen She about this, saying, "This guest of yours is ignorant and ill-bred, and his idle chatter serves only to degrade your dignity!" Chen She had his old friend's head cut off. Thereafter all of Chen She's former acquaintances withdrew of their own accord, and no one attempted to be on intimate terms with him. Chen She appointed Zhu Fang as rectifier and Hu Wu as director of faults, putting them in charge of his other ministers and officials. When any of the various generals

【原文】

无亲陈王者。陈王以朱房为中正，胡武为司过，主司群臣。诸将徇地，至，令之不是者，系而罪之，以苛察为忠。其所不善者，弗下吏，辄自治之。陈王信用之。诸将以其故不亲附，此其所以败也。

陈胜虽已死，其所置遣侯王将相竟亡秦，由涉首事也。高祖时为陈涉置守冢三十家砀，至今血食。

褚先生曰：地形险阻，所以为固也；兵革刑法，所以为治也。犹未足恃也。夫先王以仁义为本，而以固塞文法为枝叶，岂不然哉！吾闻贾生之称曰：

"秦孝公据殽、函之固，拥雍州之地，君臣固守，以窥周室，有席卷天下，包举宇内，囊括四海之意，并吞八荒之心。当是时也，商

【今译】

过失。将领们攻占了地方回到陈县来，稍不服从命令，就抓起来治罪，以苛刻地寻求群臣的过失作为对陈王的忠心。凡是他俩不喜欢的人，一旦有错，不交给负责司法的官吏去审理，就擅自予以惩治。陈王很信任他们。将领们因为这些缘故不再亲近依附他了，这是陈王失败的原因。

陈胜虽然已经死了，他所封立派遣的侯王将相终于灭掉了秦王朝，这是由于陈涉首先起义反秦的结果。汉高祖时，在砀县安置了三十户人家为陈涉看守坟墓，到现在仍按时杀牲祭祀他。

褚先生说：地形险阻，是便于用来固守的；武器装备和法制规章，是便于统治国家的。但这些还不足以依赖。先王以仁义道德作为治国的根本，而把巩固边塞、制定法律条文看成枝叶，难道不是这样吗！我听贾谊说道：

"秦孝公占据崤山和函谷关的险固地势，拥有整个雍州地区，君臣牢固把守，随时窥视着周王朝的政权。大有席卷天下，包举宇内，囊括四海的劲头，并吞八方极远之地的心气。在那个时候，商鞅辅佐秦孝公，对内建立法令制度，致力于耕种纺织，整治攻守的武器；对

returned from expeditions to seize territory, if it appeared that they had not carried out their orders exactly, these two officials believed it their duty to bind them like criminals and subject them to the severest examination. If any fault was found in their behavior, their case was not submitted to the lesser officials for trial, but was settled summarily by Zhu Fang and Hu Wu themselves. Chen She entrusted everything to these two men with the fullest confidence, and for this reason his generals felt no personal attachment to him. This is why he failed.

Although Chen She himself died very early, the various rulers and commanders whom he set up and dispatched on expeditions eventually succeeded in overthrowing the Qin. Thus it was he who actually began the uprising. In the time of Emperor Gaozu of the Han, thirty families were established to take care of Chen She's grave at Dang, so that down to the present day he has continued to enjoy the blood and flesh of sacrifices.[9]

It is by the lay of the land and its strategic fastness that one's position is made secure, and by the force of arms and law that one executes his rule. And yet these alone cannot be relied upon. The kings of antiquity made humanity and righteousness the root of their rule, and considered strategic power, laws, and regulations as no more than its branches. Was this not a just view? Jia Yi, discussing the history of the Qin dynasty, has written as follows:

Duke Xiao of Qin [fourth century BC], relying upon the strength of the Hangu Pass and basing himself in the area of Yongzhou, with his ministers held fast to his land and eyed the house of Zhou, for he cherished a desire to roll up the empire like a mat, to bind into one the whole world, to bag all the land within the four seas; he had it in his heart to swallow up everything in the eight directions. At this time he was aided by the Legalist philosopher Lord Shang, who set up laws for him, encouraged agriculture

【原文】

君佐之，内立法度，务耕织，修守战之备，外连衡而斗诸侯。于是秦人拱手而取西河之外。

“孝公既没，惠文王、武王、昭王蒙故业，因遗策，南取汉中，西举巴蜀，东割膏腴之地，收要害之郡。诸侯恐惧，会盟而谋弱秦。不爱珍器重宝肥饶之地，以致天下之士。合从缔交，相与为一。当此之时，齐有孟尝，赵有平原，楚有春申，魏有信陵。此四君者，皆明知而忠信，宽厚而爱人，尊贤而重士。约从连衡，兼韩、魏、燕、赵、宋、卫、中山之众。于是六国之士，有宁越、徐尚、苏秦、杜赫之属为之谋，齐明、周最、陈轸、邵滑、楼缓、翟景、苏厉、乐毅之徒通其意，吴起、孙膑、带佗、兒良、王廖、田忌、廉颇、赵奢之伦制其兵。尝以什倍之地，百万之师，仰关而攻秦。秦人开关而延敌，九国之师

【今译】

外用连横的策略使诸侯们互相争斗。秦国就这样轻而易举地取得了黄河以西的大片土地。

“秦孝公死后，秦惠文王、武王、昭襄王继承了秦孝公的治国事业，遵循着先人留下来的策略，向南面夺取了汉中，向西南夺取了巴蜀，向东面割得了肥沃的土地，向北面夺得了冲要险阻的郡邑。诸侯们恐惧惊慌，相会结盟商量对策来削弱秦国。他们不吝惜珍贵的财宝和富饶的土地，用来招纳天下的人才；采取合纵策略缔结盟约，互相支援，成为一体。在这个时候，齐国有孟尝君，赵国有平原君，楚国有春申君，魏国有信陵君：这四位公子，都英明智慧而忠诚信义，宽宏厚道而爱惜人才，尊重贤者而器重士人。他们互相约定实行合纵策略联合抗秦，破坏秦国的连横策略，联合了韩、魏、燕、赵、宋、卫、中山等国。如此一来，六国的人才，有宁越、徐尚、苏秦、杜赫这些人替他们出谋划策；有齐明、周最、陈轸、邵滑、楼缓、翟景、苏厉、乐毅这些人传达他们的意见；有吴起、孙膑、带佗、兒良、王廖、田忌、廉颇、赵奢这些人统率他们的军队。诸侯们曾经凭借相当于秦国

and weaving, built up the instruments of war, contracted military alliances, and attacked the other feudal lords. Thus the men of Qin were able with ease to acquire territory east of the upper reaches of the Yellow River.

After the death of Duke Xiao, Kings Huiwen, Wu, and Zhao carried on the undertakings of their predecessor, and following the plans he had laid, seized Hanzhong in the south and Ba and Shu in the west, and acquired rich land in the east and provinces of strategic value. The other feudal lords in alarm came together in council to devise some plan to weaken Qin, sparing nothing in gifts of precious objects and rich lands to induce men from all over the empire to come and join with them in a "vertical alliance," and pool their strength. At this time there were Lord Mengchang in Qi, Lord Pingyuan in Zhao, Lord Chunshen in Chu, and Lord Xinling in Wei. These four lords were all men of intelligence and loyalty, generous and kind to others, who honored worthy men and took good care of their followers. They rejected the Horizontal alliance and instead formed the Vertical Alliance, which united all the forces of the states of Hann,[10] Wei, Yan, Zhao, Song, Wey,[11] and Zhongshan. At this time among the distinguished men of the Six States were men like Ning Yue, Xu Shang, Su Qin, and Du He, who laid the plans; Qi Ming, Zhou Ju, Chen Zhen, Shao Gu, Lou Huan, Zhai Jing, Su Li, Yue Yi, and their followers, who carried out these plans; and Wu Qi, Sun Bin, Dai Tuo, Ni Liang, Wang Liao, Tian Ji, Lian Po, and Zhao She, who commanded the troops. With a force of 1,000,000 soldiers drawn from an area ten times that of Qin they beat upon the Pass and pressed forward toward Qin. But the men of Qin opened the Pass to entice the enemy in, and the armies of the Nine States fled and did not dare to advance. Qin, without expending a single arrow or losing a single arrowhead, threatened the fate of the whole empire. With this, the Vertical Alliance collapsed, its treaties came to naught, and the various states

【原文】

遁逃而不敢进。秦无亡矢遗镞之费，而天下固已困矣。于是从散约败，争割地而赂秦。秦有余力而制其弊，追亡逐北，伏尸百万，流血漂橹，因利乘便，宰割天下，分裂山河。强国请服，弱国入朝。

“施及孝文王、庄襄王，享国之日浅，国家无事。

“及至始皇，奋六世之余烈，振长策而御宇内，吞二周而亡诸侯，履至尊而制六合，执敲朴以鞭笞天下，威振四海。南取百越之地，以为桂林、象郡。百越之君，俯首系颈，委命下吏。乃使蒙恬北筑长城而守藩篱，却匈奴七百余里，胡人不敢南下而牧马，士亦不敢贯弓而报怨。

于是废先王之道，燔百家之言，以愚黔首。隳名城，杀豪俊，收

【今译】

十倍大的土地，百万的大军，攻打函谷关而进击秦国。秦国开关迎敌，九国的军队却掉头逃跑，不敢前进。秦国没有耗费一弓一箭，天下的诸侯却已经疲惫不堪了。于是合纵解散，盟约破坏，各自争相割地贿赂秦国。秦国有充裕的力量来利用诸侯的弱点，追赶逃亡败走的敌人，杀得他们横尸百万，流的血把大盾牌都漂浮起来。秦国趁着有利的形势，方便的时机，主宰天下，分割土地山河，因而强国请求臣服，弱国前来朝拜称臣了。

“延续到秦孝文王、庄襄王的时候，他们在位的时间短暂，国家没有什么事。

“到了秦始皇，发扬六代传下来的功业，像驾车似的挥动长鞭来驾御各诸侯国，吞并了东周和西周，灭亡了诸侯，登上了皇帝的宝座而控制天下，手持刑具来鞭笞天下的人民，声威震慑四海。向南方夺取了百越的土地，把它设为桂林郡和象郡，百越的君长们，低着头，用绳子拴住自己的脖子，把自己的性命交给秦王朝的下级官吏掌握。于是派蒙恬到北方去修筑长城，作为防守边疆的屏障，把匈奴向北驱赶了七百多里，匈奴人不敢到南边来牧马，兵士也不敢搭起弓箭来报

大中华文库

hastened to present Qin with parts of their territories as bribes for peace. With its superior strength Qin pressed the crumbling forces of its rivals, pursued those who had fled in defeat, and overwhelmed and slaughtered the army of 1,000,000 until their shields floated upon a river of blood. Following up the advantages of its victory, Qin gained mastery over the empire and divided up its mountains and rivers. The powerful states begged to submit to its sovereignty and the weaker ones paid homage at its court.

Then followed Kings Xiaowen and Zhuangxiang, whose reigns were short and uneventful.

After this came the First Emperor who, carrying on the glorious spirit of his six predecessors, cracked his long whip and drove the universe before him, swallowed up the eastern and western Zhou, and overthrew the feudal lords. He ascended the throne of honor and ruled the six directions, scourging the world with his rod, and his might shook the four seas. In the south he seized the land of the hundred tribes of Yue and made of Guilin and Xiang provinces, and the lords of the hundred Yue bowed their heads, hung halters from their necks, and pleaded for their lives with the lowest officials of Qin. Then he sent Meng Tian to build the Great Wall and defend the borders, driving back the Xiongnu over 700 *li*,[12] so that the barbarians no longer ventured to come south to pasture their horses and their men dared not take up their bows to vent their hatred. Thereupon he discarded the ways of the former kings and burned the books of the hundred schools of philosophy in order to make the people ignorant. He destroyed the walls of the great cities, assassinated the powerful leaders, and collected all the arms of the empire, which he had brought to his capital at Xianyang, where the spears and arrowheads were melted down and cast to make

【原文】

天下之兵，聚之咸阳，销锋鍉，铸以为金人十二，以弱天下之民。然后践华为城，因河为池，据亿丈之城，临不测之溪以为固。良将劲弩，守要害之处，信臣精卒，陈利兵而谁何。天下已定，始皇之心，自以为关中之固，金城千里，子孙帝王万世之业也。

“始皇既没，余威振于殊俗。然而陈涉瓮牖绳枢之子，氓隶之人，而迁徙之徒也。材能不及中人，非有仲尼、墨翟之贤，陶朱、猗顿之富也。蹑足行伍之间，俯仰阡陌之中，率疲散之卒，将数百之众，转而攻秦。斩木为兵，揭竿为旗，天下云会响应，赢粮而景从，山东豪俊遂并起而亡秦族矣。

【今译】

仇。于是废除了先王的治国之道，焚烧了诸子百家的著作，以图使老百姓愚昧无知，毁坏各地的名城，杀戮才智杰出的人，收集天下的武器集中到咸阳，熔化刀剑和箭头，铸成十二座金属人像，来削弱天下人民的反抗力量。然后依凭华山当作城墙，凭借黄河作为护城河，倚仗亿丈高的华山，据守着深险莫测的黄河，作为守卫的险要之地。良将拿着强弓，防守冲要的地方，可靠的大臣带领精干的士兵，拿着锋利的武器，严厉盘查过往的行人是谁。天下已经平定，秦始皇的心中，自以为关中地势险要，城郭坚固，城池宽广，可以作为子子孙孙万世当皇帝的基业了。

“秦始皇死了以后，他的余威还震慑着远方。然而陈涉是一个用破瓮作窗户，用草绳拴门的穷苦人家的子弟，是耕田的人，是被征发戍守边境的人。他的才能比不上一般的人，既没有孔子、墨子那样的德行，也没有陶朱、猗顿那样的富有。置身在戍卒的行列之中，混迹于乡野之间，带领着疲乏散乱的戍卒，统率着几百个人，转身攻打秦国。他们砍下木棍做武器，高举竹竿为旗帜，天下的人就像风云那样迅速汇集起来，像回响那样应声而起，带着粮食，如影随形地跟着他，崤山函谷关以东的英雄豪杰一齐起来，就把秦王朝推翻了。

twelve human statues. All this he did in order to weaken the people of the empire. After this he ascended and fortified Mt. Hua, set up fords along the Yellow River, and strengthened the heights and precipices overlooking the fathomless valleys, in order to secure his position. He garrisoned the strategic points with skilled generals and strong cross-bowmen and stationed trusted ministers and well-trained soldiers to guard the land with arms and question all who passed back and forth. When he had thus pacified the empire, the First Emperor believed in his heart that, with the strength of his capital within the Pass and his walls of metal extending a thousand miles, he had established a rule that would be enjoyed by his sons and grandsons for ten thousand generations.

For a while after the death of the First Emperor the memory of his might continued to awe the common people. Yet Chen She, born in a humble hut with tiny windows and a wattle door, a day laborer in the fields and a garrison conscript, whose abilities could not match even the average, who had neither the worth of Confucius and Mo Zi nor the wealth of Tao Zhu or Yi Dun, stepped from the ranks of the common soldiers, rose up from the paths of the fields, and led a band of several hundred poor, weary soldiers in revolt against Qin. They cut down trees to make their weapons and raised their flags on garden poles, and the whole world gathered like a cloud, answered like an echo to a sound, brought them provision, and followed after them as shadows follow a form. In the end the leaders east of the mountains rose up together and destroyed the house of Qin.

【原文】

“且天下非小弱也，雍州之地，殽、函之固自若也。陈涉之位，非尊于齐、楚、燕、赵、韩、魏、宋、卫、中山之君也；鉏耰棘矜，非铦于句戟长铩也；谪戍之众，非抗于九国之师也；深谋远虑，行军用兵之道，非及曩时之士也。然而成败异变，功业相反也。试使山东之国与陈涉度长絜大，比权量力，则不可同年而语矣。然而秦以区区之地，致万乘之权，抑八州而朝同列，百有余年矣。然后以六合为家，殽函为宫。一夫作难而七庙隳，身死人手，为天下笑者，何也？仁义不施，而攻守之势异也。”

【今译】

“再说那秦王朝的天下并没有缩小削弱；雍州的土地，崤山函谷关的险要坚固还像从前一样。陈涉的地位，并不比齐、楚、燕、赵、韩、魏、宋、卫、中山的君主尊贵；锄耙戟柄，并不比钩戟长矛锋利；被征发戍守边地的民众，并不比九国的军队强大；深谋远虑，行军与指挥作战的本领，也比不上先前六国的那些才智之士。但是成功失败完全不同，功业完全相反。假使拿崤山、函谷关以东各国诸侯来跟陈涉量量长短，比比大小，比较一下他们的权势，衡量衡量他们的实力，那简直不能够同年而语、相提并论。而秦国当初凭借很小的地方，发展为有万辆兵车的强国，进而控制了其他八州，使本来与它地位相同的诸侯国都来向秦国朝拜称臣，已经有一百多年的历史了。之后秦国把天地四方当作家，把崤山、函谷关当作宫墙。可是陈涉一个人首倡起义，秦王朝的七代宗庙就被毁坏，连秦王子婴也死在别人手中，被天下的人所讥笑，这是什么原因呢？这是因为不施行仁政，并且攻取天下和后来防守天下的形势不同了啊。”

Now the empire of Qin at this time was by no means small or feeble. Its base in Yongzhou, its stronghold within the Pass, were the same as before. The position of Chen She could not compare in dignity with the lords of Qi, Chu, Yan, Zhao, Hann, Wei, Song, Wey, and Zhongshan. The weapons which he improvised from hoes and tree branches could not match the sharpness of spears and battle pikes; his little band of garrison conscripts was nothing beside the armies of the Nine States. In deep plotting and far-reaching stratagems, in methods of warfare, he was far inferior to the men of earlier times. And yet Chen She succeeded in his undertaking where they had failed, though in ability, size, power, and strength his forces could in no way compare to those of the states east of the mountains that had formerly opposed Qin. Qin, beginning with an insignificant amount of territory, reached the power of a great kingdom and for 100 years made the ancient eight provinces pay homage at its court. Yet, after it had become master of the six directions and established its palaces within the Pass, a single commoner opposed it and its seven ancestral temples toppled, its ruler died by the hands of men, and it became the laughing stock of the world. Why? Because it failed to rule with humanity and righteousness, and did not realize that the power to attack and the power to retain what one has thereby won are not the same.[13]

(*Translated by Burton Watson*)

廉颇蔺相如列传（节选）

【原文】

知死必勇，非死者难也，处死者难。方蔺相如引璧睨柱，及叱秦王左右，势不过诛，然士或怯懦而不敢发。相如一奋其气，威信敌国，退而让颇，名重太山，其处智勇，可谓兼之矣！

【今译】

知道将死而不害怕必定很有勇气，死并非难事，难的是怎样对待死。当蔺相如手举璧玉斜视庭柱，呵斥秦王左右侍从的时候，就形势来说最多不过是被杀，然而一般士人往往因为胆小懦弱而不敢如此表现。相如一旦鼓起勇气，其威力就能压倒敌国，对廉颇谦逊退让，他的名誉比泰山还重，他处事中表现出的智慧和勇气，可以说是兼而有之啊！

Courage (excerpt)

He who will face death at the call of duty must necessarily be brave. There is no difficulty in merely dying: the difficulty lies in dying at fitting junctures only. When Hsiang-ju carried in the jewel,[1] and with haughty gesture cursed right and left of the Prince of Ch'in, death was the worst he had to fear; yet few would have been bold enough to act as he did. His courageous attitude commanded the admiration even of an enemy; and when on his return he forbore to risk death in a wrong cause, he gained for himself a name which shall endure for ever. Verily, wisdom and courage were well combined in that man!

(*Translated by Herbert A. Giles*)

刺客列传（节选）

【原文】

荆轲者，卫人也。其先乃齐人，徙于卫，卫人谓之庆卿。而之燕，燕人谓之荆卿。

荆卿好读书击剑，以术说卫元君，卫元君不用。其后秦伐魏，置东郡，徙卫元君之支属于野王。

荆轲尝游过榆次，与盖聂论剑，盖聂怒而目之。荆轲出，人或言复召荆卿。盖聂曰："曩者吾与论剑有不称者，吾目之；试往，是宜去，不敢留。"使使往之主人，荆卿则已驾而去榆次矣。使者还报，盖聂曰："固去也，吾曩者目摄之。"

【今译】

荆轲，是卫国人。他的祖先是齐国人，后来迁移到卫国，卫国人称呼他庆卿。到燕国后，燕国人称呼他荆卿。

荆卿喜爱读书、击剑，以智谋游说卫元君，卫元君没有任用他。此后秦国攻打魏国，设置了东郡，把卫元君的旁支亲属迁徙到野王。

荆轲漫游曾路经榆次，与盖聂谈论剑术，盖聂对他怒目而视。荆轲出去以后，有人劝盖聂再把荆轲叫回来。盖聂说："刚才我和他谈论剑术，他谈的有不甚得当的地方，我用眼瞪了他；试着找找吧，他应该走了，不敢再留在这里了。"盖聂派人到荆轲住处询问房东，得知荆轲已乘车离开榆次了。派去的人回来报告，盖聂说："他本来就该走了，刚才我用眼睛瞪他，他害怕了。"

The Biography of Ching K'o (excerpt)

Ching K'o was a native of Wey.[1] His forebears had been natives of Ch'i who had moved to Wey. The people of Wey called him Master Ch'ing,[2] but when he went to Yen,[3] the people called him Master Ching.

Master Ching liked to read books and to handle the sword. He once used his arts to try to influence Prince Yüan of Wey,[4] but Prince Yüan would not employ him. Later on Ch'in attacked Wei,[5] established the commandery of Tung[6] out of the territory it captured, and moved a relative of Prince Yüan to Yeh-wang.[7]

Once when Ching K'o was traveling through Yü-tz'u,[8] he held a conversation with one Ko Nieh about swords. Ko Nieh became angry and gave him a fierce look, and Ching K'o went away. Someone said that they should call Master Ching back. Ko Nieh said: "In the past, if I talked with someone about swords and he did not suit me, I would give him a fierce look. If this has caused him to leave, it is quite proper that he has left, and I shall not venture to detain him." However, he sent a messenger to his master, but Ching K'o had then already harnessed his horse and departed from Yü-tz'u. The messenger returned and reported this. Ko Nieh said: "He has indeed gone. I have given him a fierce look and frightened him."

【原文】

荆轲游于邯郸，鲁句践与荆轲博，争道，鲁句践怒而叱之，荆轲嘿而逃去，遂不复会。

荆轲既至燕，爱燕之狗屠及善击筑者高渐离。荆轲嗜酒，日与狗屠及高渐离饮于燕市，酒酣以往，高渐离击筑，荆轲和而歌于市中，相乐也，已而相泣，旁若无人者。荆轲虽游于酒人乎，然其为人沉深好书，其所游诸侯，尽与其贤豪长者相结。其之燕，燕之处士田光先生亦善待之，知其非庸人也。

居顷之，会燕太子丹质秦亡归燕。燕太子丹者，故尝质于赵。而秦王政生于赵，其少时与丹欢。及政立为秦王，而丹质于秦。秦王之遇燕太子丹不善，故丹怨而亡归。归而求为报秦王者，国小，力不能。其后秦日出兵山东以伐齐、楚、三晋，稍蚕食诸侯，且至于燕，燕君

【今译】

荆轲漫游到邯郸，鲁句践与荆轲博戏，两人争执起博局的路数，鲁句践恼羞成怒大声地呵斥他，荆轲却默无声息地逃走了，于是两人不再见面。

荆轲到燕国以后，遇到了一个以宰狗为业的人和擅长击筑的高渐离。荆轲特别喜欢饮酒，天天和那个宰狗的屠夫及高渐离在燕国的集市上喝酒，喝得似醉非醉以后，高渐离击筑，荆轲就和着节拍在街市上唱歌，一起娱乐，不一会儿又一同哭泣，好像身旁没有人的样子。荆轲虽说混在酒徒中，可是他的为人却深沉稳重、喜欢读书，他游历诸侯各国，都是与当地贤士豪杰及德高望重的人相结交。他到燕国后，燕国隐士田光先生也非常友好地对待他，知道他不是平庸的人。

过了不久，适逢在秦国作人质的燕太子丹逃回燕国。燕太子丹，过去曾在赵国作人质。而秦王嬴政出生在赵国，他少年时和太子丹要好。等到嬴政被立为秦王，太子丹又到秦国作人质。秦王对燕太子不友好，所以太子丹心生怨恨逃了回来。回来就寻求报复秦王的办法，但燕国弱小，力不能及。此后秦国天天出兵崤山以东，攻打齐、楚和

When Ching K'o was traveling to Han-tan,[9] one Lu Kou-chien disputed with him for the right of way. Lu Kou-chien became angry and reviled him, but Ching K'o escaped without saying anything, and did not again confront him.[10]

On arriving in Yen, Ching K' o became fond of a certain "dog butcher" of Yen and of Kao Chien-li, who was an excellent lute player.[11] "Ching K'o liked wine, and every day he drank with the dog butcher and with Kao Chien-li in the marketplace of the Yen capital, becoming drunk before he departed. While Kao Chien-li strummed his lute, Ching K'o would sing along and make merry with him in the midst of the marketplace. Afterward they would weep together, as if there were no one around them. Yet, though Ching K'o mixed with drunkards, he was a serious man who loved books, and the persons with whom he associated during his travels among the feudal lords were all of superior worth and excellence. When he came to Yen, a Mr. T'ien Kuang, who was a retired gentleman in Yen, also received him well, and knowing that he was not an ordinary man, had him live with him for some time.

It was just at this period that Tan, Crown Prince of Yen, who had been a hostage in Ch'in, returned in flight to Yen.[12] Crown Prince Tan of Yen had at one time been a hostage in Chao, and Cheng, the king of Ch'in, had been born in Chao.[13] In his youth he had been friendly with Tan, but when Cheng became king of Ch'in and Tan was a hostage in Ch'in, the king of Ch'in did not treat Crown Prince Tan of Yen well. Therefore Tan became angry and fled back to Yen. On his return, he looked for someone who would take vengeance on the king of Ch'in, but his state was small and its power inadequate. Later on Ch'in was constantly sending forth its soldiers east of the mountains[14] to attack Ch'i, Ch'u, and the three Chin.[15] Gradually it made encroachments upon the feudal lords, even unto Yen. The lords and ministers of Yen all feared that disaster would befall it, and Crown Prince Tan, being worried, asked his tutor, Chü Wu, about the matter. Chü

【原文】

臣皆恐祸之至。太子丹患之，问其傅鞠武。武对曰："秦地遍天下，威胁韩、魏、赵氏。北有甘泉、谷口之固，南有泾、渭之沃，擅巴、汉之饶，右陇、蜀之山，左关、殽之险，民众而士厉，兵革有余。意有所出，则长城之南，易水以北，未有所定也。奈何以见陵之怨，欲批其逆鳞哉！"丹曰："然则何由？"对曰："请入图之。"

居有间，秦将樊於期得罪于秦王，亡之燕，太子受而舍之。鞠武谏曰："不可。夫以秦王之暴而积怒于燕，足为寒心，又况闻樊将军之所在乎？是谓'委肉当饿虎之蹊'也，祸必不振矣！虽有管、晏，不能为之谋也。愿太子疾遣樊将军入匈奴以灭口。请西约三晋，南连齐、楚，北购于单于，其后乃可图也。"太子曰："太傅之计，旷日弥

【今译】

韩、赵、魏三国，逐渐地像蚕吃桑叶一样侵吞各国，战火将波及燕国，燕国君臣都唯恐大祸临头。太子丹为此十分忧虑，于是请教他的老师鞠武。鞠武回答说："秦国的土地遍天下，威胁到韩国、魏国、赵国。北面有甘泉、谷口坚固险要的地势，南面有泾河、渭水流域肥沃的土地，占有富饶的巴郡、汉中地区，西边有陇、蜀的崇山峻岭为屏障，东边有函谷关、崤山做要塞，人口众多并且士兵训练有素，武器装备绰绰有余。如果有意向外扩张，那么长城以南，易水以北，就没有安稳的地方了。为什么您还因为被欺侮而怨恨，要去触动秦王的逆鳞来击怒他呢！"太子丹说："既然如此，我们怎么办呢？"鞠武回答说："让我进一步考虑考虑。"

过了一些时候，秦将樊於期得罪了秦王，逃到燕国，太子接纳了他并让他住下来。鞠武进谏说："不行。秦王本来就很凶残，再积怒于燕国，这就足以叫人提心吊胆了，又何况他听到樊将军住在这里呢？这就是'把肉放在饿虎经过的小路上'啊，祸患一定不可挽救！即使有管仲、晏婴，也不能为您出谋划策了。希望您赶快送樊将军到匈奴去，以消除秦国攻打我们的借口。请您向西与韩、赵、魏结盟，向南联络齐、楚，向北与单于讲和，然后就可以想办法对付秦国了。"太子丹

Wu replied: "The territory of Ch'in spreads through the world, and it has intimidated the houses of Han, Wei, and Chao. In the north it possesses the fortifications of Sweet Springs and Valley Mouth.[16] In the south it has the irrigation of the Ching and the Wei.[17] It has seized for itself the riches of Pa and Han.[18] On its right are the mountains of Lung and Shu,[19] and on its left are the defiles of Kuan and Yao.[20] Its people are numerous and its gentry are fearsome. It has an overabundance of military supplies. Once it has the idea of sallying forth, then south of the Long Wall and north of the Yi River there can be no security.[21] How, with the hatred that comes of oppression, can you wish to oppose it?"[22] "Well, then," said Tan, "what is to be done?" He replied: "I beg to retire and think the matter over."

After some period of time had elapsed, Fan Yü-ch'i, a Ch'in general who had fallen into disgrace with the king of Ch'in, fled as a fugitive to Yen, where the Crown Prince received and sheltered him. Chü Wu remonstrated, saying: "You cannot do this. When, with all his harshness, the king of Ch'in heaps up hatred against Yen, it is enough to chill one's heart. How much more so when he hears of the whereabouts of General Fan! This is called throwing meat in the path of a hungry tiger. The resulting disaster is inescapable. Even if you had Kuan or Yen, they could not plan successfully against it.[23] "I should like the Crown Prince to send off General Fan quickly to the Huns[24] in order to do away with him. I beg you to ally yourself with the three Chin on the west, link yourself with Ch'i and Ch'u on the south, and put yourself on good terms with the *Shan-yü*[25] on the north. After this you can make plans." The Crown Prince said: "The Grand Tutor's plan

【原文】

久，心惛然，恐不能须臾。且非独于此也，夫樊将军穷困于天下，归身于丹，丹终不以迫于强秦而弃所哀怜之交，置之匈奴，是固丹命卒之时也。愿太傅更虑之。”鞠武曰：“夫行危欲求安，造祸而求福，计浅而怨深，连结一人之厚交，不顾国家之大害，此谓‘资怨而助祸’矣。夫以鸿毛燎于炉炭之上，必无事矣。且以雕鸷之秦，行怨暴之怒，岂足道哉！燕有田光先生，其为人智深而勇沉，可与谋。”太子曰：“愿因太傅而得交于田先生，可乎？”鞠武曰：“敬诺。”出见田先生，道：“太子愿图国事于先生也。”田光曰：“敬奉教。”乃造焉。

太子逢迎，却行为导，跪而蔽席。田光坐定，左右无人，太子避席而请曰：“燕秦不两立，愿先生留意也。”田光曰：“臣闻骐骥盛壮

【今译】

说：“老师的计划，需要的时间太长了，我的心里忧闷烦乱，恐怕连片刻也等不及了。况且并非单单因为这个缘故，樊将军在天下已是走投无路，投奔于我，我总不能因为迫于强暴的秦国而抛弃我所同情的朋友，把他送到匈奴去，就应当是我生命完结的时刻。希望老师另考虑别的办法。”鞠武说：“选择危险的行动却想求得安全，制造祸患而祈请福祉，计谋浅薄而怨恨深重，为了结交一个新朋友，而不顾国家的大祸患，这就是所说的‘助长怨恨而促使祸患的发展’了。把鸿雁的羽毛放在炉炭上，一下子就烧光了。何况是雕鸷一样残暴的秦国，对燕国发泄仇恨残暴的怒气，难道还用说吗！燕国有位田光先生，他这个人智谋深邃而勇敢沉着，可以和他商量商量。”太子说：“希望通过老师而得以结交田先生，可以吗？”鞠武说：“遵命。”说完就去拜会田先生，说：“太子希望跟田先生一同谋划国家大事。”田光说：“愿意献策。”就前往太子那里拜访了。

太子上前迎接，倒退着走为田光引路，跪下来拂拭座位请田光坐下。田光坐稳后，左右没别人，太子离开自己的座位向田光请教说：“燕国与秦国誓不两立，希望先生留意。”田光说：“我听说千里

is something for a long period. But I am perplexed and fear I cannot wait even a moment. Yet this is not the only point. For General Fan was in great straits in the world when he gave himself to me, and never, to the end of my life, could I, beeause of pressure from a powerful Ch'in, cast aside the bonds of pity and eompassion and put him away among the Huns. If I did such a thing, it would eertainly be time for me to die. Let the Grand Tutor reconsider the matter." Chü Wu said: "To move into danger thereby wishing to gain peace; to create calamities thereby to obtain good fortune; to hold to shallow plans for requiting deep hatreds; to bind oneself in lasting bonds to a single man, without regard for the great harm therefrom to the nation: such is what is called encouraging enmities and inviting disaster. When wild duck feathers are burned on a stove's charcoal, there can be nothing to bother about.[26] All the more so, then, when eaglelike Ch'in carries out its cruel hates. What is there then to talk about?[27] In Yen there is a Mr. T'ien Kuang who is a man of deep wisdom and great bravery. You can plan with him." The Crown Prince said: "I should like through you to make the acquaintance of Mr. T'ien. Can it be done?" Chü Wu replied: "I respectfully obey." He went to see Mr. T'ien and told him that the Crown Prinee wished to discuss affairs of state with him. T'ien Kuang said: "I respectfully receive his command," and thereupon went to him.

The Crown Prince weleomed him, led him inside, knelt, and dusted off the mat for him to sit on. T'ien Kuang sat down and settled himself, and there was nobody around them. The Crown Prince moved from his mat toward his visitor and requested him, saying: "Yen and Ch'in eannot both stand. I should like you, sir, to put your mind on this faet." T'ien Kuang replied: "Your servant has heard that when the unicorn is in its prime, it can traverse one thousand tricents.[28] But when it has beeome weak and

【原文】

之时，一日而驰千里；至其衰老，驽马先之。今太子闻光盛壮之时，不知臣精已消亡矣。虽然，光不敢以图国事，所善荆卿可使也。”太子曰：“愿因先生得结交于荆卿，可乎？”田光曰：“敬诺。”即起，趋出。太子送至门，戒曰：“丹所报，先生所言者，国之大事也，愿先生勿泄也！”田光俯而笑曰：“诺。”偻行见荆卿，曰：“光与子相善，燕莫不知。今太子闻光壮盛之时，不知吾形已不逮也，幸而教之曰‘燕秦不两立，愿先生留意也’。光窃不自外，言足下于太子也，愿足下过太子于宫。”荆轲曰：“谨奉教。”田光曰：“吾闻之，长者为行，不使人疑之。今太子告光曰‘所言者，国之大事也，愿先生勿泄’，是太子疑光也。夫为行而使人疑之，非节侠也。”欲自杀以激荆卿，

【今译】

马壮年的时候，一天可奔驰千里；等到它衰老了，就是劣等马也能跑到它的前边。如今太子只听说我盛壮之年的情景，却不知道我的精力已经衰竭了。虽然如此，我不能冒昧地谋划国事，我的好朋友荆卿是可以承担这个使命的。”太子说：“希望能通过先生和荆卿结交，可以吗？”田光说：“遵命。”立刻起身，小步快走向外走去。太子送到门口，告诫他说：“我所讲的，先生所说的，是国家的大事，希望先生不要泄露出去！”田光俯下身去笑着说：“是。”田光弯腰驼背地走着去见荆轲，说：“我和您彼此要好，燕国没有谁不知道，如今太子听说我盛壮之年时的情景，却不知道我的身体已力不从心了，我荣幸地听他教诲说：‘燕国、秦国誓不两立，希望先生留意’。我私下和您不见外，已经把您推荐给太子，希望您前往宫中拜访他。”荆轲说：“谨遵教诲。”田光说：“我听说，有德行的人行事，不能让别人怀疑他。如今太子告诫我说‘所说的，是国家大事，希望先生不要泄露’，这是太子怀疑我啊。一个人行事却让别人怀疑他，他就不算是有节操、讲义气的人。”于是，他想用自杀来激励荆卿，说：“希望您立即去见太子，

old, a broken-down nag can outstrip it. The Crown Prince has heard falsely that I am in my prime, and does not know that I have already lost my vitality. Nevertheless, I dare not on that account slight affairs of state. A good person who could be employed would be Master Ching." The Crown Prince said: "I should like through you to make the acquaintance of Master Ching. Can it be done?" T'ien Kuang replied: "I respectfully obey." He then arose and hastened to depart. The Crown Prince escorted him to the gate, and warned him, saying: "What I have told you and what you have said are important state matters. I wish you, sir, not to disclose them." T'ien Kuang nodded and smiled, saying: "I obey." With body stooped by age he departed to see Master Ching, to whom he said: "There is no one in the state of Yen who does not know that we are on good terms with each other. The Crown Prince heard today that I was in my prime, but he did not know that my body is already failing. He graciously told me: 'Yen and Ch'in cannot both stand. I should like you, sir, to put your mind on this fact.' I was careful not to alienate myself from this matter, and I spoke of you to the Crown Prince, sir, I should like you to go to the Crown Prince at his palace." Ching K'o said: "I respectfully receive your instructions." T'ien Kuang continued: "I have heard that an old man, when he acts, does not cause people to doubt him. But now the Crown Prince has said to me: 'What we have spoken about are important state matters. I wish you, sir, not to disclose them.' This means that the Crown Prince doubts me. One who acts so as to make people doubt him is not an honorable knight." In order to inspire Master Ching with feelings of heroism, he wished to kill himself as an example of uprightness, and continued: "I want you to go quickly to the Crown Prince, sir, and tell him that I have already died, so as to show him that I have not spoken." With this, he cut his throat and died.

【原文】

曰："愿足下急过太子，言光已死，明不言也。"因遂自刎而死。

荆轲遂见太子，言田光已死，致光之言。太子再拜而跪，膝行流涕，有顷而后言曰："丹所以诫田先生毋言者，欲以成大事之谋也。今田先生以死明不言，岂丹之心哉！"荆轲坐定，太子避席顿首曰："田先生不知丹之不肖，使得至前，敢有所道，此天之所以哀燕而不弃其孤也。今秦有贪利之心，而欲不可足也。非尽天下之地，臣海内之王者，其意不厌。今秦已虏韩王，尽纳其地。又举兵南伐楚，北临赵；王翦将数十万之众距漳、邺，而李信出太原、云中。赵不能支秦，必入臣，入臣则祸至燕。燕小弱，数困于兵，今计举国不足以当秦。诸侯服秦，莫敢合从。丹之私计愚，以为诚得天下之勇士使于秦，窥

【今译】

就说我已经死了，表明我不会泄露机密。"于是就刎颈自杀了。

荆轲于是便去拜见太子，告诉他田光已死，并转达了田光的话。太子拜了两拜跪下去，跪着前行痛哭流涕，过了一会儿说："我之所以告诫田先生不要和他人讲，是想使大事的谋划得以成功。如今田先生用死来表明他不会说出去，这哪里是我的初衷啊！"荆轲坐稳，太子又离开座位以头叩地说："田先生不知道我不上进，使我能够到您跟前，冒昧地有所陈述，这是上天哀怜燕国，不抛弃我啊。如今秦王有贪图利益的野心，而他的欲望是无法满足的。不占尽天下的土地，使各国的君王向他臣服，他的野心是不会满足的。如今秦国已俘虏了韩王，占领了他的全部领土。他又出动军队向南攻打楚国，向北逼近赵国；王翦率领几十万大军抵达漳水、邺县一带，而李信出兵太原、云中。赵国抵挡不住秦军，一定会向秦国臣服，赵国臣服，则灾祸就会降临到燕国。燕国弱小，多次被战争所困扰，如今估计调动全国的力量也不能够抵挡秦军。诸侯畏服秦国，没有谁敢提倡合纵政策。我私下有个不成熟的计策，认为如果真能得到天下的勇士派往秦国，用

Ching K'o then went to see the Crown Prince. He told him that T'ien Kuang was already dead, and reported what T'ien Kuang had said. The Crown Prince bowed twice, knelt, moved about on his knees,[29] and wept. Some moments passed and then he said: "The reason why I warned Mr. T'ien not to speak was that I wished to bring the plans for an important matter to fruition. But now Mr. T'ien has used death to show that he did not speak. Alas! How could I have meant that?" Ching K'o sat down and settled himself. The Crown Prince moved from his mat toward his visitor, bowed his head, and said: "Not knowing of my unworthiness, Mr. T'ien has done what you have just dared to relate. Heaven has afflicted Yen in this, yet it has not abandoned its Orphan.[30] "Ch'in has an avaricious heart and its desires are insatiable. It will remain unsatisfied until it has made subject the kings of all the lands in the world within the seas. Ch'in has now already taken the king of Han captive and has annexed all his territory.[31] It has furthermore raised soldiers to attack Ch'u in the south and overlook Chao in the north. Wang Chien,[32] commanding a host of several hundreds of thousands, has reached Chang and Yeh,[33] while Li Hsin[34] has gone to Tai-yüan and Yun-chüng.[35] "Chao cannot withstand Ch'in and must become its vassal. If it becomes its vassal, disaster will then overtake Yen. Yen is small and weak, and has often suffered from war. Were I now to plan to conscript the entire country, the result would be insufficient to oppose Ch'in. The feudal lords are submissive to Ch'in, and none of them dare to join in a north-to-south alliance.[36] "My own simple plan would be to secure one of the world's brave men and send him to Ch'in, where he could attract the king of Ch'in's cupidity by the promise of great profit. With his strength,[37] he would certainly obtain for us what we desire. If we could actually succeed in carrying off the king of Ch'in and force him to return all the territory of the feudal lords that has been invaded, as Ts'ao Mo did with Duke Huan of Ch'i, it would be splendid.[38] But if this were not possible, he could use the opportunity to stab and kill him. If, while the great Ch'in generals were holding their troops outside

【原文】

以重利；秦王贪，其势必得所愿矣。诚得劫秦王，使悉反诸侯侵地，若曹沫之与齐桓公，则大善矣；则不可，因而刺杀之。彼秦大将擅兵于外而内有乱，则君臣相疑，以其间诸侯得合从，其破秦必矣。此丹之上愿，而不知所委命，唯荆卿留意焉。”久之，荆轲曰：“此国之大事也，臣驽下，恐不足任使。”太子前顿首，固请毋让，然后许诺。于是尊荆卿为上卿，舍上舍。太子日造门下，供太牢具，异物间进，车骑美女恣荆轲所欲，以顺适其意。

久之，荆轲未有行意。秦将王翦破赵，虏赵王，尽收入其地，进兵北略地至燕南界。太子丹恐惧，乃请荆轲曰：“秦兵旦暮渡易水，则虽欲长侍足下，岂可得哉！”荆轲曰：“微太子言，臣愿谒之。今

【今译】

重利诱惑秦王；秦王贪婪，其情势一定能达到我们的愿望。如果真能劫持秦王，让他全部归还侵占各国的土地，像曹沫劫持齐桓公一样，那就太好了；如不行，就趁势杀死他。他们秦国的大将在国外独揽兵权，而国内出了乱子，那么君臣就会彼此猜疑，趁此机会，东方各国得以联合起来，就一定能够打败秦国。这是我最高的愿望，却不知道把这使命委托给谁，希望荆卿仔细地考虑这件事。”过了好一会儿，荆轲说“这是国家的大事，我的才能低劣，恐怕不能胜任。”太子上前叩头下拜，坚决请求荆轲不要推辞，而后荆轲答应了。因此太子就尊奉荆卿为上卿，住进上等的馆舍。太子天天到荆轲的住所拜望，供给贵重的饮食，时不时地还献上奇珍异宝，车马美女任荆轲随心所欲享用，以迎合他的心意。

过了很长一段时间，荆轲仍没有行动的意思。秦将王翦已经攻破赵国的都城，俘虏了赵王，把赵国的领土全部纳入秦国的版图，大军向北挺进，夺取的土地直到燕国南部边界。太子丹害怕了，于是请求荆轲说：“秦国军队很快就要横渡易水，那时即使我想要长久地侍奉您，

the borders, there were to be trouble within, then ruler and ministers would mutually distrust each other. And if at this juncture the feudal lords could succeed in forming a north-to-south alliance, their defeat of Ch'in would be assured. This is my highest desire, but I know not to whom to entrust my mission. Do you, Master Ching, put your mind on this." After some time Ching K'o said: "This is an important state matter. Your servant is an inferior nag, and fears that his capacities are inadequate for the trust." The Crown Prinee bowed before him and pressed him not to give up the trust, after which he finally eonsented. He then honored Master Ching by making him a High Dignitary and lodging him in a superior house. Every day the Crown Prinee went to his door, offering him the Great Saerifiee of sheep, pig, and ox, giving him rare objeets, at intervals bringing him earriages, horsemen, and beautiful women, and freely granting Ching K'o whatever he desired, so as to satisfy his inclinations.

After this had continued for some time, Ching K'o still had no idea of going away to Ch'in. The Ch'in general Wang Chien defeated Chao, took its king captive, and annexed his entire territory.[39] He advanced his army northward, seizing territory as far as Yen's southern boundary. Crown Prince Tan was alarmed and begged Ching K'o, saying: "Onee the Ch'in soldiers are in a position freely to cross the River Yi,[40] though I should then wish to support you, sir, how eould it be done?" Ching K'o replied: "I had intended to ask about this if you had not spoken of it. But were I to go now without having the eonfidenee of the state of Ch'in, then the king of Ch'in could still not be approaehed. The king of Ch'in has offered one thousand catties of gold and a city of ten thousand families for the eapture of General Fan. Now if we could aetually get hold of the head of General Fan and

【原文】

行而毋信，则秦未可亲也。夫樊将军，秦王购之金千斤，邑万家。诚得樊将军首与燕督亢之地图，奉献秦王，秦王必说见臣，臣乃得有以报。”太子曰：“樊将军穷困来归丹，丹不忍以己之私而伤长者之意，愿足下更虑之！”

荆轲知太子不忍，乃遂私见樊於期曰：“秦之遇将军可谓深矣，父母宗族皆为戮没。今闻购将军首金千斤，邑万家，将奈何？”於期仰天太息流涕曰：“於期每念之，常痛于骨髓，顾计不知所出耳！”荆轲曰：“今有一言可以解燕国之患，报将军之仇者，何如？”於期乃前曰：“为之奈何？”荆轲曰：“愿得将军之首以献秦王，秦王必喜而见臣，臣左手把其袖，右手揕其胸，然则将军之仇报，而燕见陵之

【今译】

怎么能办得到呢！”荆轲说：“太子就是不说，我也要请求行动了。现在到秦国去，没有让秦王相信我的东西，那么秦王就不可以接近。那个樊将军，秦王悬赏金千斤，封邑万户来购买他的人头。果真得到樊将军的人头和燕国督亢的地图，献给秦王，秦王一定很高兴地接见我，这样我才能够有机会报效您。”太子说：“樊将军走投无路才来投奔我，我不忍心为自己的私利而伤害这位长者的心，希望您考虑别的办法吧！”

荆轲明白太子不忍心，于是就私下去见樊於期说：“秦国对待将军可以说是太残酷了，父母、同族之人或被杀或被没入官府为奴。如今听说秦国用金千斤、封邑万户来购买将军的首级，您打算怎么办呢？”於期仰望苍天叹息流泪说：“我每每想到这些，就痛入骨髓，却想不出办法来！”荆轲说：“现在有一句话可以解除燕国的祸患，又能帮将军报仇，怎么样？”於期凑向前说：“怎么去做呢？”荆轲说：“希望得到将军的首级献给秦王，秦王一定会高兴地召见我，我左手抓住他的衣袖，右手用匕首直刺他的胸膛，那么将军的仇得报，而燕国被欺凌的耻辱也可以涤除了。将军是否有这个心意呢？”樊於

present it to the king of Ch'in, together with a map of Tu-k'ang in Yen,[41] then the king of Ch'in would certainly be pleased to see your servant, who would thus have the opportunity of avenging the Crown Prince."[42] The Crown Prince replied: "General Fan came to me in poverty and distress. I could not permit myself, for my own selfish aim, to violate a higher ideal. I should like you, sir, to reconsider the matter."

Ching K'o realized that the Crown Prince would not consent, so he privately visited Fan Yü-ch'i and said to him: "Ch'in's treatment of you, General, can indeed be called far-reaching! Your father, mother, and kindred have all been executed, and now I hear that a reward of one thousand catties of gold and a city of ten thousand families have been offered for your head. What are you going to do?" Fan Yü-ch'i looked up to Heaven, heaved a great sigh, shed some tears, and said: "Each day I think about this and suffer constantly unto my very bones and marrow. But whatever plan I consider, I know not where it will lead me." Ching K'o said: "Now, suppose a single statement could free the state of Yen from its tribulations and avenge you of your hatred. How would you feel?" Fan Yü-ch'i came forward and asked: "What is it?" Ching K'o replied: "I should like to have your head to present to the king of Ch'in. Then the king of Ch'in would certainly be delighted to see me. With my left hand I would seize his sleeve, and with my right I would stab his breast. In this way your hatred of Ch'in would be avenged and the shame of Yen's oppression would be wiped out. What do you think of this?" Fan Yü-ch'i bared his arm, grasped his wrist,[43] and drew nearer, saying: "Day and night I have been grinding my teeth and beating my breast

【原文】

愧除矣。将军岂有意乎？”樊於期偏袒搤捥而进，曰：“此臣之日夜切齿腐心也，乃今得闻教！”遂自刭。太子闻之，驰往，伏尸而哭，极哀。既已不可奈何，乃遂盛樊於期首函封之。

于是太子豫求天下之利匕首，得赵人徐夫人匕首，取之百金，使工以药焠之，以试人，血濡缕，人无不立死者。乃装为遣荆卿。燕国有勇士秦舞阳，年十三，杀人，人不敢忤视。乃令秦舞阳为副。荆轲有所待，欲与俱；其人居远未来，而为治行。顷之，未发，太子迟之，疑其改悔，乃复请曰：“日已尽矣，荆卿岂有意哉？丹请得先遣秦舞阳。”荆轲怒，叱太子曰：“何太子之遣？往而不反者，竖子也！且提一匕首入不测之强秦，仆所以留者，待吾客与俱。今太子迟之，请辞决矣！”遂发。

【今译】

期脱掉一边衣袖露出臂膀，一只手紧紧握住另一只手腕，走近荆轲说“这是我日日夜夜切齿碎心的仇恨，今天才听到您的教诲！”于是就自刎了。太子听到这个消息，驾车奔驰前往，趴在樊於期的尸体上痛哭，极其悲哀。已经没法挽回，于是就把樊於期的首级装到匣子里密封起来。

当时太子已预先寻找天下最锋利的匕首，找到赵国人徐夫人的匕首，花了百金买下它，让工匠用毒水焠浸，用人试验，只要见一丝血，没有不立刻死的。于是太子就准备行装送荆轲出发。燕国有位勇士叫秦舞阳，十三岁时就杀人，别人都不敢正面看他。于是太子就派秦舞阳作荆轲的助手。荆轲等待一个人，打算一道出发；那个人住得很远，还没赶到，而荆轲已替那个人准备好了行装。过了些日子，荆轲还没有出发，太子认为他拖延时间，怀疑他反悔了，就又来请他说：“日子不多了，荆卿有动身的打算吗？请允许我派遣秦舞阳先行。”荆轲很生气，斥责太子道：“太子为什么这样派遣？只顾去而不顾完成使命回来，那是没出息的小子！况且是拿一把匕首进入难以预料的强暴的秦国，我所以暂留的原因，是等待另一位朋友同去。现在太子认为我拖延了时间，那荆轲就与太子告辞诀别吧！”于是就出发了。

on this account. But now I have heard my instructions." And with this he cut his throat. When the Crown Prince heard of it, he hastened to the recumbent corpse and mourned with deep grief. But the deed was already accomplished and there was nothing to be done, so he placed the head of Fan Yü-ch'i in a container and closed it.

After this the Crown Prince set about to look for one of the world's sharp daggers,[44] and obtained one belonging to a man of Chao, Hsü Fu-jen. He gave him one hundred catties of gold for it and had a workman impregnated it with poisonous drugs, so that anybody whose clothing it caused to be stained with blood would immediately die. He then put this in a bag and had it sent to Master Ching. In the state of Yen there was a bravo, Ch'in Wu-yang, who at the age of thirteen[45] had already killed a man, so that no one dared to eye him contrarily. Ch'in Wu-yang was then commanded to be assistant to Ching K'o. There was someone whom Ching K'o was waiting for, wishing to be with him before starting off, and as this man lived far away and had not yet arrived, he delayed his going. When after some time he had still not gone, the Crown Prince felt that Ching K'o was procrastinating, and suspected that he regretted his decision, so he again requested him, saying: "The day is already done, and what are your intentions? I beg to be allowed to send Ch'in Wu-yang in advance." Ching K'o became angry, and upbraided the Crown Prince, saying: "Who is this you would send! This one who will go, never to return, is a mere boy. And he will be entering an immeasurably powerful Ch'in, carrying only a single dagger. I have delayed in order to await my visitor and be with him. But now that you say I am procrastinating, I beg to bid farewell." With this he departed.

【原文】

太子及宾客知其事者，皆白衣冠以送之。至易水之上，既祖，取道，高渐离击筑，荆轲和而歌，为变徵之声，士皆垂泪涕泣。又前而为歌曰：

风萧萧兮易水寒，

壮士一去兮不复还！

复为羽声慷慨，士皆瞋目，发尽上指冠。于是荆轲就车而去，终已不顾。

遂至秦，持千金之资币物，厚遗秦王宠臣中庶子蒙嘉。嘉为先言于秦王曰："燕王诚振怖大王之威，不敢举兵以逆军吏，愿举国为内臣，比诸侯之列，给贡职如郡县，而得奉守先王之宗庙。恐惧不敢自陈，谨斩樊於期之头，及献燕督亢之地图，函封，燕王拜送于庭，使使以闻大王，唯大王命之。"秦王闻之大喜，乃朝服，设九宾，见

【今译】

太子及宾客中知道这件事的，都穿着白衣戴着白帽来为荆轲送行。到易水岸边，饯行以后，荆轲及秦舞阳带着行装上路，高渐离在后面击筑，荆轲和着节拍唱歌，发出苍凉凄惋的变徵的音调，送行的人都流泪哭泣。一边向前走一边唱道：

风萧萧兮易水寒，

壮士一去兮不复还！

荆轲又发出慷慨激昂的声调，送行的人们怒目圆睁，头发直竖，把帽子都顶起来了。于是荆轲就上车走了，始终都没回头。

一到秦国，荆轲就带着价值千金的礼物，厚赠秦王的宠臣中庶子蒙嘉。蒙嘉替荆轲先在秦王面前说："燕王确实被大王的威严所震慑，不敢出兵抵抗大王的将士，情愿全国上下做秦国的臣子，比照其他诸侯国并排列其中，像直属郡县那样纳税，以求能够奉守先王的宗庙。燕王因为惶恐畏惧不敢亲自前来陈述，谨此砍下樊於期的首级，并献上燕国督亢地区的地图，装匣密封，还在朝廷上举行了拜送仪式，派

The Crown Prince and those of his pensioners who knew about the affair all put on white clothes and caps, so as to see him off as far as the bank of the River Yi.[46] Having offered a sacrifice to the god of the roads, they took the highway. While Kao Chien-li played the lute, Ching K'o joined with him in the key of F#,[47] and all the gentlemen shed tears and wept. Once more moving forward, he sang a song which said:

The wind sighs softly;
On the River Yi 'tis cold.
Once our young hero has gone,
He will never return."

Then he sang again, a stirring song in the key of A.[48] All the gentlemen assumed a stern gaze and their hair bristled up against their caps. At this point Ching K'o went to his carriage and departed; unto the end he did not look back.

When he arrived in Ch'in,[49] he took goods worth one thousand catties of gold, and made lavish presents of them to Meng Chia, who was one of the favored ministers of the king of Ch'in, and an attendant of the heir apparent.[50] Meng Chia went on his behalf to speak first to the king of Ch'in, saying: "Verily, the king of Yen trembles with terror before the majesty of the Great King. He dares not raise soldiers to oppose your military officers, but wishes, taking his kingdom, to become your inner vassal; to set an example to the other feudal lords; to send in tribute like one of your own commanderies or prefectures; and so be allowed to sacrifice to and preserve the temple of his ancestor kings. Being fearful, he dares not present himself, but has cut off the head of Fan Yü-ch'i and placed it in a closed box, together with a map of the territory of Tu-k'ang in Yen, which he

【原文】

燕使者咸阳宫。荆轲奉樊於期头函，而秦舞阳奉地图匣，以次进。至陛，秦舞阳色变振恐，群臣怪之。荆轲顾笑舞阳，前谢曰："北蕃蛮夷之鄙人，未尝见天子，故振慑。愿大王少假借之，使得毕使于前。"秦王谓轲曰："取舞阳所持地图。"轲既取图奏之，秦王发图，图穷而匕首见。因左手把秦王之袖，而右手持匕首揕之。未至身，秦王惊，自引而起，袖绝。拔剑，剑长，操其室。时惶急，剑坚，故不可立拔。荆轲逐秦王，秦王环柱而走。群臣皆愕，卒起不意，尽失其度。而秦法，群臣侍殿上者不得持尺寸之兵；诸郎中执兵皆陈殿下，非有诏召不得上。方急时，不及召下兵，以故荆轲乃逐秦王。而卒惶急，无以击轲，而以手共搏之。是时，侍医夏无且以其所奉药囊提荆轲也。秦

【今译】

出使臣把这种情况禀明大王，敬听大王指令。"秦王听到这个消息，非常高兴，就穿上了朝服，安排了隆重的九宾仪式，在咸阳宫召见燕国的使者。荆轲捧着装有樊於期首级的盒子，秦舞阳捧着装有地图的匣子，按照正、副使的次序前后进来。走到殿前的台阶处，秦舞阳脸色突变，害怕得直发抖，大臣们都感到非常奇怪。荆轲回头朝秦舞阳笑笑，上前谢罪说："北方藩属蛮夷之地的粗野人，没有见过天子，所以心惊胆战。希望大王稍微宽容他，让他能够在大王面前完成使命。"秦王对荆轲说："递上舞阳拿的地图。"荆轲取过地图献上，秦王展开地图，图卷慢慢展到尽头，匕首露了出来。荆轲趁势左手抓住秦王的衣袖，右手拿匕首直刺向他。未等近身，秦王大惊，自己后退跳起，衣袖被挣断。他急忙拔剑，可是剑太长，只是抓住剑鞘。当时惊慌急迫，剑又套得很紧，所以不能立刻拔出。荆轲追赶秦王，秦王绕柱奔跑。大臣们都惊呆了，事情发生得太突然，大家都失去常态。然而当时秦国的法律规定，殿上侍从大臣不允许携带任何兵器；各位侍卫武官也都只能拿着武器依序守卫在殿外，没有君王命令不准进殿。正当危急时刻，秦王也来不及传唤下边的侍卫官兵，因此荆轲才能够追赶秦王。

respectfully presents. The king of Yen, making obeisance, has sent these to the court, and has dispatched an emissary to give news of them to the Great King. May the Great King but command him." On hearing this, the king of Ch'in was greatly delighted. He put on court clothing as for a great state occasion,[51] and gave the Yen emissary an audience in the palace at Hsien-yang. Ching K'o approached to present the box with the head of Fan Yü-ch'i, followed by Ch'in Wu-yang, presenting the container with the map. When they came to the steps of the throne, Ch'in Wu-yang changed color and shook with fear. The courtiers wondered at this. Ching K'o looked at Wu-yang with a smile and went forward to excuse him, saying: "He is a common man of the northern barbarians, and has never seen the Son of Heaven. Therefore he shakes with fear. May it please the Great King to excuse him for a little while and allow me, a mere humble emissary, to come forward." The king of Ch'in said to Ching K'o: "Bring the map carried by Ch'in Wu-yang." Ching K'o thereupon brought the map and presented it. The king of Ch'in took out the map, and when it was entirely exposed the dagger appeared. At this moment Ching K'o seized the sleeve of the king of Ch'in with his left hand, while with his right hand he grasped the dagger and struck at him. But it did not reach his body. The king of Ch'in, alarmed, drew himself back and leaped up, so that his sleeve tore off. He pulled at his sword, but the sword was long and clung to its scabbard. By this time he was completely terrified. The sword hung vertically, and therefore he could not draw it out immediately. Ching K'o pursued the king of Ch'in, who ran around a pillar. All the courtiers, thunderstruck, hurriedly jumped up without thinking what they were doing and completely lost their ranks. According to the Ch'in laws, none of the courtiers who attended Court in the hall above was allowed to bear any weapon whatsoever.[52] The officers of the guard in charge of the soldiers were all ranged in the hall below, and unless there was a summons they were not allowed to come up. At this moment of emergency, there was no time to call for the soldiers below. Thus Ching K'o pursued the king of Ch'in, while the latter, in a state of complete panic, having nothing with which to strike Ching K'o, warded him off with his two joined hands. At this moment an attendant physician, Hsia Wu-chü, struck Ching K'o a blow with his bag of medicine

【原文】

王方环柱走，卒惶急，不知所为，左右乃曰："王负剑！"负剑，遂拔以击荆轲，断其左股。荆轲废，乃引其匕首以擿秦王，不中，中铜柱。秦王复击轲，轲被八创。轲自知事不就，倚柱而笑，箕倨以骂曰："事所以不成者，以欲生劫之，必得约契以报太子也。"于是左右既前杀轲，秦王不怡者良久。已而论功，赏群臣及当坐者各有差，而赐夏无且黄金二百镒，曰："无且爱我，乃以药囊提荆轲也。"

于是秦王大怒，益发兵诣赵，诏王翦军以伐燕。十月而拔蓟城。燕王喜、太子丹等尽率其精兵东保于辽东。秦将李信追击燕王急，代王嘉乃遗燕王喜书曰："秦所以尤追燕急者，以太子丹故也。今王诚杀丹献之秦王，秦王必解，而社稷幸得血食。"其后李信追丹，丹匿

【今译】

秦王仓促之间惊慌急迫，也没有用来攻击荆轲的武器，只能赤手空拳和荆轲搏击。这时，侍从医官夏无且用他所捧的药袋投击荆轲。正当秦王围着柱子跑，仓猝慌急，不知如何是好的时候，左右侍从喊道："大王把剑推到背后拔剑！"秦王把剑推到背后，于是拔出宝剑攻击荆轲，砍断了荆轲的左腿。荆轲残废了，就举起他的匕首投向秦王，没有击中，却击中了铜柱。秦王又剑刺荆轲，荆轲被刺伤八处。荆轲自知大事不能成功了，就倚在柱子上大笑，张开两腿像簸箕一样坐在地上骂道："大事之所以没能成功，是因为我想胁迫你，逼你订立归还诸侯土地的契约回报太子。"这时侍卫们冲上前来杀死荆轲，秦王不高兴了好久。过后评论功过，赏赐群臣及处置当办罪的官员都各有差别，而赐给夏无且黄金二百镒，说："无且护我心切，才用药袋投击荆轲。"

这件事以后秦王大怒，增派军队前往赵国，命令王翦的军队去攻打燕国。十月就攻克了蓟城。燕王喜、太子丹等率领着全部精锐部队向东退守辽东。秦将李信紧紧地追击燕王，代王嘉就写信给燕王喜说："秦军之所以还这么急切地追击燕军，是因为太子丹的缘故。现

which he was to have presented. The king of Ch'in was running around and around the pillar, and had completely lost his wits, so that he did not know what he was doing. The bystanders then cried out: "Put your sword behind you, king!" The king did so, and thus had room to pull it out. He struck Ching K'o with it and cut his left thigh. Ching K'o, being disabled, then raised his dagger and hurled it at the king of Ch'in. It missed him and hit the bronze pillar. The king of Ch'in struck at Ching K'o repeatedly, so that the latter received eight wounds. Ching K'o realized that his attempt had failed. He leaned against the pillar and laughed; then squatting down, he cursed the king, saying: "The reason why my attempt did not succeed was that I wished to carry him off alive. Someone else must be found to carry out the pledge to avenge the Crown Prince." At this point those about him rushed forward and killed Ching K'o.[53] The king of Ch'in was not at ease after this for a long time. Later he decided which of the courtiers should be rewarded for their merit, and which punished, each according to his degree. Hsia Wu-chü he rewarded with two hundred yi of yellow gold,[54] saying: "Wu-chü loves me. With his bag of medicine he struck Ching K'o."

Then the king of Ch'in was greatly enraged. He sent more soldiers to advance on Chao, and commanded the army of Wang Chien to attack Yen. In the tenth month it seized the City of Chi.[55] King Hsi of Yen, Crown Prince Tan, and their followers all led their best soldiers eastward to defend themselves at Liaotung.[56] The Ch'in general, Li Hsin, pursued and attacked the king of Yen impetuously. King Chia of Tai[57] then sent King Hsi of Yen a letter that said: "The reason why Ch'in continues to press Yen so impetuously is Crown Prince Tan. If now the king would actually kill Tan and give him up to the king of Ch'in, the king of Ch'in would surely desist and your spirits of the soil and grain would happily have their sacrifices."[58] Li Hsin later pursued Tan, who concealed himself at the River Yen.[59] The king of Yen then sent an official who beheaded Crown Prince Tan, wishing

【原文】

衍水中，燕王乃使使斩太子丹，欲献之秦。秦复进兵攻之。后五年，秦卒灭燕，虏燕王喜。

其明年，秦并天下，立号为皇帝。于是秦逐太子丹、荆轲之客，皆亡。高渐离变名姓为人庸保，匿作于宋子。久之，作苦，闻其家堂上客击筑，傍偟不能去。每出言曰：“彼有善有不善。”从者以告其主，曰：“彼庸乃知音，窃言是非。”家丈人召使前击筑，一坐称善，赐酒。而高渐离念久隐畏约无穷时，乃退，出其装匣中筑与其善衣，更容貌而前。举坐客皆惊，下与抗礼，以为上客。使击筑而歌，客无不流涕而去者。宋子传客之，闻于秦始皇。秦始皇召见，人有识者，乃曰：“高渐离也。”

【今译】

在您如果杀掉太子丹，把他的人头献给秦王，一定会得到秦王的宽恕，而国家或许能得以保存。”此后李信率军追赶太子丹，太子丹躲藏在衍水河中，燕王就派使者杀了太子丹，准备把他献给秦王。秦王命秦国大军继续攻打燕国。此后五年，秦国终于灭掉了燕国，俘虏了燕王喜。

第二年，秦王吞并了天下，立号做了皇帝。于是通缉太子丹和荆轲的门客，门客们都潜逃了。高渐离更名改姓给人家当帮工，隐藏在宋子这个地方。时间长了，生活得很辛苦，听到主人家堂上有客人击筑，走来走去舍不得离开。不时张口就说：“那筑的声调有好的地方，也有不好的地方。”侍候的人把高渐离的话告诉主人，说：“那个帮工懂得音乐，私下里评论客人击筑的是非。”主人叫高渐离到堂前击筑，满座宾客都说他击得好，赏给他酒喝。高渐离考虑到长久地隐姓埋名，担惊受怕地躲藏下去没有尽头，便退下堂来，从行装匣子里拿出自己的筑和衣裳，改装整容来到堂前。满座宾客都大吃一惊，离开座位用平等的礼节接待他，尊他为上宾。请他击筑唱歌，宾客们听了无不感动得流泪而去。宋子城里的人轮流请他去作客，这消息被秦始皇听到了。秦始皇召令进见，有认识他的人，就说：“这是高渐离。”

to give him up to Ch'in.[60] Ch'in again sent in soldiers to attack him, and five years later Ch'in completely wiped out Yen and made King Hsi of Yen captive.[61]

The next year the king of Ch'in unified the world and established for himself the title of Sovereign Emperor.[62] After this, Ch'in pursued the followers of Crown Prince Tan and of Ching K'o, so that they all disappeared. Kao Chien-li changed his personal name and his surname, and became a servant. He lived in concealment at Sung-tzu[63] and for a long time endured much hardship. Once he heard the honored guests of the household playing the lute. He moved about irresolutely and could not go away, and about each of them he expressed his opinion, saying that such and such a person was good or not good. The servants told their master, saying: "That fellow knows music. He takes the liberty of saying what is right and what is wrong." The master of the house summoned him and had him come forward and play the lute. The entire gathering acclaimed his excellence, and rewarded him with wine. Kao Chien-li, reflecting that he had long been in retirement, and fearing lest his straitened circumstances might continue for an interminable time, withdrew himself and took out from his luggage box his lute and his good clothes. Then, having changed his appearance, he came forward. The entire assemblage of guests was surprised. They descended to give him the honors of an equal, made him an honored guest, and had him play the lute and sing. Then among the guests there was not one who did not shed tears on departing. After this the people of Sung-tzu one after another received him as a guest. The report of this came to the First Emperor of Ch'in, who summoned him for an audience. Someone who was there recognized him and said that he was Kao Chien-li. But the First Emperor of Ch'in pitied him for his excellent playing of the lute, and found it difficult to kill him. So he had him blinded and employed him to play the lute. Never was there a time when he did not acclaim his excellence, and little by little he became more familiar with him. Kao Chien-li then put some lead inside his lute, and when next he entered and came close, he raised the lute and struck at the First Emperor of Ch'in. But

【原文】

秦皇帝惜其善击筑，重赦之，乃矐其目。使击筑，未尝不称善。稍益近之，高渐离乃以铅置筑中，复进得近，举筑朴秦皇帝，不中。于是遂诛高渐离，终身不复近诸侯之人。

鲁句践已闻荆轲之刺秦王，私曰：“嗟乎，惜哉其不讲于刺剑之术也！甚矣吾不知人也！曩者吾叱之，彼乃以我为非人也！”

太史公曰：世言荆轲，其称太子丹之命，“天雨粟，马生角”也，大过。又言荆轲伤秦王，皆非也。始公孙季功、董生与夏无且游，具知其事，为余道之如是。自曹沫至荆轲五人，此其义或成或不成，然其立意较然，不欺其志，名垂后世，岂妄也哉！

【今译】

秦始皇怜惜他擅长击筑，特别赦免了他的死罪，熏瞎了他的眼睛。让他击筑，没有一次不被人说好的。渐渐地更加接近秦始皇，高渐离便把铅放进筑中，再进宫击筑靠近秦始皇时，举筑撞击秦始皇，没有击中。于是秦始皇就杀了高渐离，终身不敢再接近从前东方六国的人了。

鲁句践听到荆轲行刺秦王的事，私下说：“唉，可惜他不懂得刺剑的技术啊！我太不了解这个人了！过去我呵斥他，他就以为我不是同路人了！”

太史公说：世人谈论荆轲，说到太子丹给他的使命时，有什么“天上像下雨一样下粮食，马头上能长出角来”的话，这太过分了。又说荆轲刺伤了秦王，这都不是事实。当初公孙季功、董生和夏无且交游，都知道这件事，他们就是这么告诉我的。从曹沫到荆轲五个人，他们的侠义之举有的成功有的不成功，但他们的志向意图都很清楚明朗，都没有违背自己的良心，名声流传到后代，这难道是虚妄的吗？

he missed. Thereupon the Emperor had Kao Chien-li put to death, and for the rest of his life he did not again allow followers of the fcudal lords to comc elose to him.

Lu Kou-chien, having heard of Ching K'o's attempt to stab the king of Ch'in, privately exelaimed: "Alas! What a pity that I did not discuss with him the arts of swordsmanship. How little do I know men! Once I rcviled him, and now he has made a mere nobody out of me."

The Grand Historian says: People of the world say that when Ching K'o undertook the mission of Crown Princc Tan, Heaven rained grain and horses sprouted horns. These are great errors. They also say that Ching K'o wounded the king of Ch'in. This is all wrong. Kung-sun Chi-kung and Tung Shcng were at one time assoeiates of Hsia Wu-chü,[64] and they both knew about the matter. They havc told it to mc as it is here. As for the five men from Ts'ao Mo down to Ching K'o,[65] somctimes thcy succccded in their intentions and sometimes they did not, but the idcas which thcy based themselves on are clear. They did not betray their resolve, and their names havc come down to latcr generations. How can they have been in vain!

(*Translated by Derk Bodde*)

淮阴侯列传

【原文】

楚人迫我京索，而信拔魏赵，定燕齐，使汉三分天下有其二，以灭项籍。作淮阴侯列传第三十二。

淮阴侯韩信者，淮阴人也。始为布衣时，贫无行，不得推择为吏，又不能治生商贾，常从人寄食饮，人多厌之者。常数从其下乡南昌亭长寄食，数月，亭长妻患之，乃晨饮蓐食。食时信往，不为具食。信亦知其意，怒，竟绝去。

信钓于城下，诸母漂，有一母见信饥，饭信，竟漂数十日。信喜，谓漂母曰："吾必有以重报母。"母怒曰："大丈夫不能自食，吾哀王

【今译】

楚军困迫汉军于京、索，韩信攻克魏、赵，平定燕、齐，使三分天下汉得其二，以此消灭了项羽。作《淮阴侯列传》第三十二。

淮阴侯韩信，是淮阴人。当初为平民百姓时，贫穷没有好品行，不能够被推选去做官吏，又不能做生意维持生计，经常寄居在别人家吃闲饭，人们大多厌恶他。曾经多次前往下乡南昌亭亭长处吃闲饭，接连数月，亭长的妻子嫌恶他，就一早做好早饭，端到内室床上去吃。开饭的时候韩信去了，却不给他准备饭食。韩信也明白他们的用意，一怒之下，居然离去不再回来。

韩信在城下钓鱼时，有几位老大娘在漂洗丝绵，其中一位大娘看见韩信饿了，就拿出饭给他吃，几十天都如此，直到漂洗完毕。韩信很高兴，对那位大娘说："我一定重重地报答您老人家。"大娘生气地说："大丈夫不能养活自己，我是可怜你这位公子才给你饭吃，难

The Biography of the Marquis of Huaiyin (Han Xin)

The men of Chu harried us between Jing and Suo, but Han Xin captured Wei and Zhao, won over Yan and Qi, and made it possible for Han to control two thirds of the empire and thereby destroy Xiang Yu. Thus I made "The Biography of the Marquis of Huaiyin."

Han Xin, the marquis of Huaiyin, was a native of Huaiyin. In his young days when he was still a commoner, being poor and without any noteworthy deeds, he was not able to get himself recommended for a position as an official. He was likewise unable to make a living as a merchant and so was constantly dependent upon others for his meals, which made many people dislike him. One of the persons whose hospitality he often imposed upon was the head of his village of Nanchang in Xia County. After he had stayed for several months on end, the wife of the village head became much annoyed. One morning she got up very early, cooked her own breakfast, and ate it in bed. When breakfast time came, Han Xin appeared as usual, but found that she had prepared nothing for him. Xin perceived what she had in mind and was incensed and in the end he broke off the friendship and went away.

Han Xin went fishing in the Huai River at the foot of the city wall, where some old women were washing coarse silk to bleach it. One of the old women noticed that Han Xin was nearly starved and she fed him, and continued to do so for the twenty or thirty days until the bleaching was finished. Han Xin was very grateful and said to the old woman, "Some day I will pay you back handsomely without fail!" But the old woman was offended and replied, "I could tell you had no way of getting food

【原文】

孙而进食，岂望报乎！”

淮阴屠中少年有侮信者，曰：“若虽长大，好带刀剑，中情怯耳。”众辱之曰：“信能死，刺我；不能死，出我袴下。”于是信孰视之，俯出袴下，蒲伏。一市人皆笑信，以为怯。

及项梁渡淮，信仗剑从之，居戏下，无所知名。项梁败，又属项羽，羽以为郎中。数以策干项羽，羽不用。汉王之入蜀，信亡楚归汉，未得知名，为连敖。坐法当斩，其辈十三人皆已斩，次至信，信乃仰视，适见滕公，曰：“上不欲就天下乎？何为斩壮士！”滕公奇其言，壮其貌，释而不斩。与语，大说之。言于上，上拜以为治粟都尉，上未之奇也。

【今译】

道是希望你报答吗？”

淮阴屠户中有个年轻人侮辱韩信，说：“你虽然长的高大，喜欢带刀佩剑，其实内心是个胆小鬼。”又当众侮辱他说：“你要不怕死，就拿剑刺我；如果怕死，就从我胯下爬过去。”于是韩信仔细地打量了他一番，俯下身从他的胯下爬了过去。满街的人都耻笑韩信，认为他是怯懦之人。

等到项梁率军渡过了淮河，韩信持剑追随他，在他的麾下，却默默无闻。项梁战败，韩信改归项羽，项羽让他做了郎中。他屡次向项羽献策，但项羽都没有采纳。汉王刘邦入蜀，韩信脱离楚军归顺了汉王，因为没有什么名声，只做了一名接待宾客的小官。后来韩信犯法被判处死刑，同伙十三人都被杀了，轮到韩信被杀的时候，他抬头仰视，正好看见滕公，说：“汉王不想成就统一天下的功业吗？为什么要斩壮士？”滕公感到他的话不同凡响，见他相貌威武，就放了他。滕公和韩信交谈，很欣赏他。把这事报告汉王，汉王任命韩信为管理粮饷的治粟都尉，但并不认为他有什么出奇超凡的才能。

for yourself, young gentleman, and so I felt sorry for you and gave you something to eat. What makes you think I was looking for any reward?"

Among the butchers of Huaiyin was a young man who jeered at Han Xin and said, "You are big and tall and love to carry a sword, but at heart you're nothing but a coward!" In front of a crowd of people he insulted Han Xin, and then said, "If you feel like dying, come on and attack me! If not, then crawl between my legs!" Han Xin looked him over carefully, and then bent down and crawled between the man's legs. The people in the market place all roared with laughter at Han Xin's cowardice.

When Xiang Liang crossed the Huai River, Han Xin took up his sword and went to join the band under his command, but he did nothing to distinguish himself. After Xiang Liang was defeated he joined Xiang Yu, who made him one of his attendants. Han Xin several times offered suggestions on strategy, but Xiang Yu made no use of them. After the king of Han had retired to his territory in Shu, Han Xin fled from Chu and joined the forces of Han. Being still a man of no particular renown, he was given a minor position as attendant to guests. Han Xin became involved in an offence and was condemned to die. Thirteen other men in the group had already been beheaded and it was Han Xin's turn next. He raised his head and looked about, when his eyes fell upon Lord Teng. "Has our sovereign no desire to win the world?" he asked. "Why does he deliberately cut off the head of a brave man?" Lord Teng was struck by his words and saw that he had a brave appearance, and so he did not execute him but set him free. After talking to Han Xin, and finding him much to his liking, Lord Teng mentioned him to the king of Han, who made him a commissary colonel, though the king saw nothing unusual in him.

【原文】

信数与萧何语，何奇之。至南郑，诸将行道亡者数十人，信度何等已数言上，上不我用，即亡。何闻信亡，不及以闻，自追之。人有言上曰："丞相何亡。"上大怒，如失左右手。居一二日，何来谒上，上且怒且喜，骂何曰："若亡，何也？"何曰："臣不敢亡也，臣追亡者。"上曰："若所追者谁？"何曰："韩信也。"上复骂曰："诸将亡者以十数，公无所追；追信，诈也。"何曰："诸将易得耳。至如信者，国士无双。王必欲长王汉中，无所事信；必欲争天下，非信无所与计事者。顾王策安所决耳。"王曰："吾亦欲东耳，安能郁郁久居此乎？"何曰："王计必欲东，能用信，信即留；不能用，信终亡耳。"王曰："吾为公以为将。"何曰："虽为将，信必不留。"王曰："以为

【今译】

韩信多次跟萧何谈话，萧何认为他是位奇才。汉王军队到达南郑，各路将领在半路上逃跑的有几十人，韩信揣测萧何等人已多次向汉王推荐自己，汉王一直不重用自己，就也逃走了。萧何听说韩信逃跑了，来不及报告汉王，就亲自去追赶他。有人报告汉王说："丞相萧何逃跑了。"汉王大怒，如同失去了左右手。过了一两天，萧何来拜见汉王，汉王又是恼怒又是高兴，骂萧何道："你逃跑，是为什么？"萧何说："我不敢逃跑，我是去追赶逃跑的人。"汉王说："你追赶的人是谁呢？"萧何回答说："是韩信。"汉王又骂道："各路将领跑了几十人，你都没去追一个；却去追韩信，这是撒谎。"萧何说："那些将领容易得到。至于像韩信这样的杰出人物，普天之下找不出第二个人。大王如果只想长期在汉中称王，自然用不着韩信；如果想要争夺天下，除了韩信再没有可以和您商议大事的人了。只看大王怎么决策了。"汉王说："我也想向东发展啊，怎么能够长期闷在这里呢？"萧何说："大王决意向东发展，能够重用韩信，韩信就会留下来；不能重用，韩信终究还是要逃跑的。"汉王说："我因为您的缘故让他做个将军吧。"萧何说："即使是做将军，韩信也一定不肯留下。"汉王说："任命他做

Han Xin several times talked to Xiao He, who regarded him with peculiar respect. By the time the Han army reached Nanzheng, it was found that twenty or thirty of the generals had deserted along the way. "Xiao He and others have several times spoken about me to the king," Han Xin considered to himself, "but the king has no use for me," and with this he too deserted. When Xiao He heard that Han Xin had run away, he did not wait to ask the king but started after him in person. Someone reported to the king that Prime Minister Xiao He had deserted. The king flew into a rage and was as distressed as if he had lost his right or left hand. After a day or so Xiao He returned and appeared before the king. The king, half in anger and half in joy, began to curse him. "You deserted, didn't you!" he said. "Why?" "How would I dare to desert?" replied Xiao He. "I went after a deserter!" "Who is it you went after?" "Han Xin." The king cursed again. "When my generals were deserting me by the tens you did not pursue one of them. This going after Han Xin is a lie!" "Generals are easy enough to get," replied Xiao He, "but men like Han Xin are the best in the nation. If Your Majesty's ambition is to rule the area of Han for as long as possible, then you have no use for Han Xin's services. But if you hope to contend for mastery of the world, then Han Xin is the only man to lay plans with. It is entirely a matter of which course you choose to take." "My whole ambition is to march east," the king replied. "How could I bear to stay pent up in a place like this forever?" "Since your plans are aimed at moving east again, if you can make good use of Han Xin, then he will stay with you. But if you cannot use him properly, then he will eventually desert!" "For your sake I will make him a general," said the king. "If you make him no more than a general, he will never stay." "Then I will make him a major general!" "That would be most gracious of you," Xiao He replied. The king was about to summon Han Xin and invest him with the position at once, but Xiao He said, "Your Majesty is inclined to be rather brusque and lacking in ceremony. If you were to call him in and make him a general

【原文】

大将。”何曰：“幸甚。”于是王欲召信拜之。何曰：“王素慢无礼，今拜大将如呼小儿耳，此乃信所以去也。王必欲拜之，择良日，斋戒，设坛场，具礼，乃可耳。”王许之。诸将皆喜，人人各自以为得大将。至拜大将，乃韩信也，一军皆惊。

信拜礼毕，上坐。王曰：“丞相数言将军，将军何以教寡人计策？”信谢，因问王曰：“今东乡争权天下，岂非项王邪？”汉王曰：“然。”曰：“大王自料勇悍仁强孰与项王？”汉王默然良久，曰：“不如也。”信再拜贺曰：“惟信亦以为大王不如也。然臣尝事之，请言项王之为人也。项王喑噁叱咤，千人皆废，然不能任属贤将，此特匹夫之勇耳。项王见人恭敬慈爱，言语呕呕，人有疾病，涕泣分食饮，至

【今译】

大将军。”萧何说：“太好了。”于是汉王就要把韩信召来任命他。萧何说：“大王向来对人轻慢不讲礼节，如今任命大将军就像呼喊小孩儿一样，这就是韩信要离去的原因啊。大王如果真想任命他，要选择良辰吉日，亲自斋戒，设置拜将的高坛和广场，安排仪式，才可以呀。”汉王答应了萧何的要求。众将听到要任命大将军都很高兴，人人都以为自己要当大将军了。等到任命大将军时，竟然是韩信，全军都感到惊讶。

韩信拜谢完毕，坐于上位。汉王说：“丞相多次提起将军，将军用什么计策指教我呢？”韩信谦让了一番，趁势问汉王说：“如今您向东争夺天下，难道敌人不是项王吗？”汉王说：“是。”韩信说：“大王自己估计在勇敢、强悍、仁厚、兵力方面与项王相比谁强？”汉王沉默了好长时间，说：“不如项王。”韩信拜了两拜赞成地说：“我也认为大王比不上他。然而，我曾经侍奉过他，请让我说说项王的为人吧。项王震怒咆哮时，吓得千百人一动都不敢动，但他却不能任用有才能的将领，这只不过是匹夫之勇罢了。项王待人恭敬慈爱、言语温和，

at once, it would be like ordering a little boy about. This is precisely the reason Han Xin deserted. If you wish to confer a title on him, you must select an auspicious day, fast and purify yourself, erect an altar and go through the whole ceremony. This is the only way." The king gave his consent to this. All of the generals were filled with joy, each considering that it was himself who was about to be made a major general. But when the title was conferred, to the astonishment of the entire army, it was upon Han Xin.

After the ceremony of investiture was concluded and Han Xin had returned to his seat, the king said, "Prime Minister Xiao He has often spoken to me about you, general. What sort of strategy is it that you would teach me?" Han Xin expressed his gratitude for the honor and took advantage of the king's inquiry to ask a question of his own. "Anyone who marched east to contend for the empire would have to face Xiang Yu, would he not?" "He would," replied the king. "In Your Majesty's estimation, which of you, Xiang Yu or yourself, excels in fierceness of courage and depth of kindness?" The king of Han was silent for a while and then he said, "I am inferior to Xiang Yu." Han Xin bowed once more and commended the king, saying, "Yes, I too believe that you are inferior. But I once served Xiang Yu, and I would like to tell you what sort of person he is. When Xiang Yu rages and bellows it is enough to make a thousand men fall down in terror. But since he is incapable of employing wise generals, all of it amounts to no more than the daring of an ordinary man. "When Xiang Yu meets people he is courteous and thoughtful, his manner of speaking is gentle and, if someone is ill or in distress, he will weep over him and give him his own food and drink. But when someone he has sent upon a mission has achieved merit and deserves to be honored and enfeoffed he will fiddle with the seal of investiture until it crumbles in his hand before

【原文】

使人有功当封爵者，印刓敝，忍不能予，此所谓妇人之仁也。项王虽霸天下而臣诸侯，不居关中而都彭城。有背义帝之约，而以亲爱王，诸侯不平。诸侯之见项王迁逐义帝置江南，亦皆归逐其主而自王善地。项王所过无不残灭者，天下多怨，百姓不亲附，特劫于威强耳。名虽为霸，实失天下心。故曰其强易弱。今大王诚能反其道：任天下武勇，何所不诛！以天下城邑封功臣，何所不服！以义兵从思东归之士，何所不散！且三秦王为秦将，将秦子弟数岁矣，所杀亡不可胜计，又欺其众降诸侯，至新安，项王诛坑秦降卒二十余万，唯独邯、欣、翳得

【今译】

有生病的人，心疼地流着泪将自己的饮食分给他，而等到有的人立下战功该加封进爵时，把刻好的大印放在手里摩挲得失去了棱角，也舍不得给人，这就是所说的妇人的仁慈啊。项王虽然称霸天下，使诸侯臣服，但他放弃了关中的有利地形，而建都彭城。他又违背了义帝的约定，将自己的亲信分封为王，诸侯们愤愤不平。诸侯们看到项王把义帝放逐到江南僻远的地方，也都回去驱逐自己的国君占据了好的地方自立为王。项王军队所经过的地方，没有不横遭摧残毁灭的，天下的人大都怨恨他，百姓不愿归附，只不过迫于威势勉强服从罢了。虽然名义上是霸主，实际上却失去了天下的民心。所以说他的优势很容易转化为劣势。现在大王果真能够反其道而行：任用天下英勇善战的人才，有什么敌人不被诛灭的呢！把天下的城邑分封给有功之臣，有什么人不心服口服呢！以正义之师，顺从将士东归的心愿，有什么样的敌人不能击溃呢！况且项羽分封的三个王，原来都是秦朝的将领，率领秦地的子弟打了好几年仗，被杀死的和逃跑的多到没法计算，又欺骗他们的部下向诸侯投降，到达新安，项王活埋了已投降的秦军二十多万人，唯独章邯、司马欣和董翳得以存活，秦地的父老兄弟对

he can bring himself to present it to the man. This sort of kindness deserves to be called merely womanish! "Now although Xiang Yu has made himself dictator of the world and subjugated the other nobles to his rule, he has not taken up residence in the area within the Pass, but has made his capital at Pengcheng. He has gone against the agreement made with the Righteous Emperor and instead has given out kingdoms to the nobles on the basis of his own likes and preferences, which has resulted in much injustice. The nobles, seeing that Xiang Yu has banished the Righteous Emperor and sent him to reside in Jiangnan, when they return to their own territories in like manner drive out their sovereigns and make themselves rulers of the choicest lands. Xiang Yu has left death and destruction everywhere he has passed. Much of the world hates him. The common people do not submit to him out of affection, but are awed by his might alone. In name he is a dictator, but in truth he has lost the hearts of the world. Therefore I say that his might can be easily weakened! "Now if you could only pursue the opposite policy and make use of the brave men of the world, what enemy would not fall before you? If you were to enfeoff your worthy followers with the territories of the empire, who would not submit? If you were to take your soldiers of righteousness and lead them back east where they long to return, who would not flee from your path? "The three kings of the region of Qin were formerly generals of Qin and led the sons of Qin for several years. The number of men who were killed under their command exceeds estimation. In addition they deceived their men into surrendering to the other nobles and, when they reached Xin'an, Xiang Yu treacherously butchered over 200,000 soldiers of the Qin army who had surrendered, sparing only the three generals Zhang Han, Sima Xin, and Dong Yi. Therefore the fathers of Qin loath these three men with a passion that eats into their very bones. Now Xiang Yu has managed by sheer force to make kings of these men, but the people of Qin have no love for them. When you entered the Wu Pass, you inflicted not a particle of harm, but repealed the harsh laws of Qin and gave to the people a simple code of laws in three articles only, and there were none of the people of Qin who did not wish to

【原文】

脱，秦父兄怨此三人，痛入骨髓。今楚强以威王此三人，秦民莫爱也。大王之入武关，秋毫无所害，除秦苛法，与秦民约，法三章耳，秦民无不欲得大王王秦者。于诸侯之约，大王当王关中，关中民咸知之。大王失职入汉中，秦民无不恨者。今大王举而东，三秦可传檄而定也。”于是汉王大喜，自以为得信晚。遂听信计，部署诸将所击。

八月，汉王举兵东出陈仓，定三秦。汉二年，出关，收魏、河南，韩、殷王皆降。合齐、赵共击楚。四月，至彭城，汉兵败散而还。信复收兵与汉王会荥阳，复击破楚京、索之间，以故楚兵卒不能西。

汉之败却彭城，塞王欣、翟王翳亡汉降楚，齐、赵亦反汉与楚和。六月，魏王豹谒归视亲疾，至国，即绝河关反汉，与楚约和。汉王使

【今译】

这三个人恨入骨髓。而今项羽凭恃着威势，强行封立这三个人为王，秦地的百姓没有谁爱戴他们。而大王进入武关，秋毫无犯，废除了秦朝的苛酷法令，与秦地百姓约法三章，秦地百姓没有不想要大王在秦地做王的。根据诸侯的成约，大王理当在关中做王，关中的百姓都知道这件事。大王失掉了应得的爵位进入汉中，秦地百姓没有不遗憾的。如今大王发动军队向东挺进，只要传布一道檄文就可以平定三秦封地了。”于是汉王特别高兴，自认为得到韩信太晚了。于是汉王听从韩信的谋划，部署各路将领攻击的目标。

八月，汉王出兵经过陈仓向东挺进，平定了三秦。汉二年，兵出函谷关，收服了魏王、河南王，韩王、殷王也相继投降。又联合齐王、赵王共同攻击楚军。四月，到彭城，汉军兵败溃散而回。韩信又召集溃散的人马与汉王在荥阳会合，在京县、索亭之间再次摧垮楚军，因此楚军始终不能西进。

汉军在彭城败退之后，塞王司马欣、翟王董翳叛汉降楚，齐国和赵国也背叛汉王跟楚国和解。六月，魏王豹以探望老母疾病为由告假回乡，一到封国，立即切断黄河渡口临晋关的交通要道反叛汉王，与

make you their king. According to the agreement concluded among all the nobles, you ought to have been made king of the area within the Pass, and the people of the area all knew this. And when you were deprived of your rightful position and retired to the region of Han, the people of Qin were all filled with resentment. Now if you will raise your army and march east, you can win over the three kingdoms of Qin simply by proclamation!" The king of Han was overjoyed and only regretted that he had been so long in discovering Han Xin. He proceeded to follow the strategy Han Xin had outlined and assigned to his generals the areas which each was to attack.

In the eighth month the king of Han raised his army, marched east out of Chencang, and subjugated the three kingdoms of Qin. In the second year of Han the king marched out of the Pass and seized control of Wei and Henan. The kings of Hann and Yin both surrendered to him. Joining the forces of Qi and Zhao, he attacked Chu. In the fourth month he reached Pengcheng, where his forces were defeated and compelled to retreat in disorder. Han Xin gathered a second force of troops and joined the king of Han at Xingyang and once more they attacked Chu in the region of Jing and Suo. As a result of this attack the armies of Chu were unable to proceed any further west.

When the Han army was defeated at Pengcheng and driven back, Sima Xin, the king of Sai, and Dong Yi, the king of Zhai, fled from Han and surrendered to Chu. Qi and Zhao also revolted against Han and made peace with Chu. In the sixth month Bao, king of Wei, asked to be allowed to go

【原文】

郦生说豹，不下。其八月，以信为左丞相，击魏。魏王盛兵蒲坂，塞临晋，信乃益为疑兵，陈船欲度临晋，而伏兵从夏阳以木罂缻渡军，袭安邑。魏王豹惊，引兵迎信，信遂虏豹，定魏为河东郡。汉王遣张耳与信俱，引兵东，北击赵、代。后九月，破代兵，禽夏说阏与。信之下魏破代，汉辄使人收其精兵，诣荥阳以距楚。

信与张耳以兵数万，欲东下井陉击赵。赵王、成安君陈馀闻汉且袭之也，聚兵井陉口，号称二十万。广武君李左车说成安君曰："闻汉将韩信涉西河，虏魏王，禽夏说，新喋血阏与，今乃辅以张耳，议欲下赵，此乘胜而去国远斗，其锋不可当。臣闻千里馈粮，士有饥色，樵苏后爨，师不宿饱。今井陉之道，车不得方轨，骑不得成列，行数

【今译】

楚军订约讲和。汉王派郦生游说魏王豹，没有成功。这年八月，汉王任命韩信为左丞相，攻打魏王豹。魏王把主力部队驻扎在蒲坂，堵塞了黄河渡口临晋关，韩信就增设疑兵，故意排开战船假装要在临晋渡河，而埋伏的部队却从夏阳用木制的盆瓮浮水渡河，偷袭安邑。魏王豹惊慌失措，带领军队迎击韩信，韩信就俘虏了魏王豹，平定了魏地，改制为河东郡。汉王派张耳和韩信一起，领兵向东进发，向北攻击赵国和代国。这年闰九月打垮了代国军队，在阏与擒获夏说。韩信攻克魏国、摧毁代国后，汉王就派人调走韩信的精锐部队，开往荥阳去抵御楚军。

韩信和张耳率领几万人马，想要向东攻克井陉口后攻击赵国。赵王、成安君陈馀听说汉军要来袭击赵国，就在井陉口聚集兵力，号称二十万大军。广武君李左车向成安君献计说："听说汉将韩信渡过西河，俘虏魏王豹，生擒夏说，不久之前在阏与激战，如今又有张耳辅助，计议要夺取赵国，这是趁着胜利的形势离开本国远征，其锋芒不可阻挡。可是，我听说千里运送粮饷，士兵们就会面带饥色，临时砍柴割草烧火做饭，军队就不能经常吃饱。眼下井陉这条道路，两辆战

home and look after his ailing parents but, when he reached his kingdom, he cut off the fords over the Yellow River, revolted against Han, and concluded an alliance with Chu. The king of Han dispatched Master Li in an attempt to dissuade him, but he refused to listen. In the eighth month of this year Han Xin was made prime minister of the left and sent to attack Wei. The king of Wei concentrated his forces at Puban and blockaded Linjin. Han Xin thereupon planted a dummy army and lined up a number of boats as though he were about to attempt to cross the river at Linjin. In the meantime he secretly led another force of men by way of Xiayang, where he ferried them across the river on floats and attacked Anyi. Bao, the king of Wei, taken completely by surprise, led his troops to oppose Han Xin but was taken prisoner. Han Xin subjugated Wei and made it into the province of Hedong. The king of Han dispatched Zhang Er to join Han Xin and with him lead a force of troops to the northeast to attack Zhao and Dai. In the intercalary ninth month they defeated the troops of Dai and took Xia Yue prisoner at Yuyu. As soon as Han Xin had conquered Wei and defeated Dai the king of Han hastily sent someone to take command of Han Xin's best troops and bring them to Xingyang to help in the blockade against Chu.

Han Xin and Zhang Er with their force of 20,000 or 30,000 men prepared to march east through the Jing Gorge to attack Zhao. The king of Zhao and Chen Yu, lord of Cheng'an, hearing that the Han forces were about to attack them, gathered an army, ostensibly numbering 200,000, at the mouth of the gorge. Li Zuoche, lord of Guangwu, advised Chen Yu, saying, "I have heard that the Han general Han Xin has forded the Yellow River to the west, made the king of Wei and Xia Yue his prisoners, and spilled blood anew at Yuyu. Now with the help of Zhang Er he has laid his plans and

【原文】

百里，其势粮食必在其后。愿足下假臣奇兵三万人，从间路绝其辎重；足下深沟高垒，坚营勿与战。彼前不得斗，退不得还，吾奇兵绝其后，使野无所掠，不至十日，而两将之头可致于戏下。愿君留意臣之计。否，必为二子所禽矣。”成安君，儒者也，常称义兵不用诈谋奇计，曰：“吾闻兵法十则围之，倍则战之。今韩信兵号数万，其实不过数千。能千里而袭我，亦已罢极。今如此避而不击，后有大者，何以加之！则诸侯谓吾怯，而轻来伐我。”不听广武君策，广武君策不用。

韩信使人间视，知其不用，还报，则大喜，乃敢引兵遂下。未至井陉口三十里，止舍。夜半传发，选轻骑二千人，人持一赤帜，从间道萆山而望赵军，诫曰：“赵见我走，必空壁逐我，若疾入赵壁，拔

【今译】

车不能并行，骑兵不能排成行列，行进的军队迤逦数百里，运粮食的队伍势必会远远地落在后边。希望您拨给我突袭的军队三万人，从隐蔽的小路拦截他们的粮草；您就深挖战壕高筑营垒，坚守军营不与韩信交战。他们向前不得战斗，向后无法退却，我出奇兵截断他们的后路，使他们在荒野什么东西也抢掠不到，用不了十天，两将的人头就可送到将军帐下。希望您仔细考虑我的计策。否则，一定会被他们二人俘虏。”成安君是信奉儒家学说的，经常宣称正义的军队不用阴谋诡计，他说：“我听兵书上讲兵力十倍于敌人就可以包围它，超过敌人一倍就可以交战。现在韩信的军队号称数万，实际上不过数千。竟然跋涉千里来袭击我们，已经极其疲惫。如今像这样回避不出击，强大的后续部队到来，又怎么对付呢！而且诸侯们会认为我胆小，就会轻易地来攻打我们。”成安君不听从、不采纳广武君的计谋。

韩信派人暗中打探，了解到成安君没有采纳广武君的计谋，探子回来报告，韩信大喜，于是敢领兵进入井陉狭道。离井陉口还有三十里，停下来宿营。半夜传令出发，挑选了两千名轻装骑兵，每人拿一面红旗，从隐蔽小道上山隐藏起来观察赵国的军队，韩信告诫说：“赵

intends to conquer Zhao. An army such as his, riding the crest of victory and fighting far from its homeland, cannot be opposed. "I have heard it said that, when provisions must be transported a thousand miles, the soldiers have a hungry look and, when fuel must be gathered before the mess is prepared, the army seldom sleeps with a full stomach. Now the road through the Jing Gorge is such that two carts cannot drive side by side, nor two horsemen ride abreast. On a march of several hundred miles under such circumstances, their provisions are sure to be in the rear. I beg you to lend me a force of 30,000 surprise troops which I can lead by a secret route to cut off their supply wagons. In the meantime, if you deepen your moats, heighten your ramparts, strengthen your camp, and refuse to engage in battle, they will be unable either to advance and fight, or to retreat and go back home. With my surprise force I will cut off their rear and see to it that they get no plunder from the countryside, and before ten days are out I will bring the heads of their two commanders and lay them beneath your banners! I beg you to give heed to my plan for, if you do not, you will most certainly find yourself their prisoner!" But Chen Yu was a Confucianist who always spoke of his "soldiers of righteousness" and had no use for tricky schemes or unusual strategies. "I have always heard that in the art of warfare," he said, "if you outnumber the enemy ten to one, you surround him, but if you outnumber him two to one, you engage him in battle. Now although Han Xin's forces are reputed to be 20,000 or 30,000, they do not in fact exceed 3,000 or 4,000. Furthermore, he has marched a thousand miles to attack me, so he must already be thoroughly exhausted. If I were to flee and decline to fight under such circumstances, what would I do in the future when faced with a larger number? The other nobles would call me coward and think nothing of coming to attack me!" Thus he refused to listen to the lord of Guangwu's plan, and the suggestion went unheeded.

Han Xin sent men to spy in secret and when they learned that the lord of Guangwu's plan was not being followed, they returned and reported to Han Xin. He was overjoyed and proceeded without fear to lead his troops down the gorge. When they were still thirty li from the mouth of the gorge, he halted and made camp. During the night he sent an order through the camp

【原文】

赵帜，立汉赤帜。”令其裨将传飧，曰：“今日破赵会食！”诸将皆莫信，详应曰：“诺。”谓军吏曰：“赵已先据便地为壁，且彼未见吾大将旗鼓，未肯击前行，恐吾至阻险而还。”信乃使万人先行，出，背水阵。赵军望见而大笑。平旦，信建大将之旗鼓，鼓行出井陉口，赵开壁击之，大战良久。于是信、张耳详弃鼓旗，走水上军。水上军开入之，复疾战。赵果空壁争汉鼓旗，逐韩信、张耳。韩信、张耳已入水上军，军皆殊死战，不可败。信所出奇兵二千骑，共候赵空壁逐利，则驰入赵壁，皆拔赵旗，立汉赤帜二千。赵军已不胜，不能得信等，欲还归壁，壁皆汉赤帜，而大惊，以为汉皆已得赵王将矣，兵遂

【今译】

军见我军败逃，一定会倾巢出动追赶我军，你们火速冲进赵军的营垒，拔掉赵军的旗帜，竖起汉军的红旗。”又让副将传达开饭的命令，说：“今天打垮了赵军会餐！”将领们都不相信，假意回答道：“好。”韩信对手下军官说：“赵军已先占据了有利地形筑造了营垒，他们看不到我大将的旗帜、仪仗，就不肯攻击我军的先头部队，怕我们到了险要的地方退回去。”韩信就派出万人的先头部队先行，出了井陉口，背靠河水摆开战斗队列。赵军远远望见大笑不止。天刚蒙蒙亮，韩信设置起大将的旗帜和仪仗，敲敲打打开出井陉口，赵军打开营垒攻击汉军，激战了很长时间。这时韩信、张耳假装抛旗弃鼓，逃回河边的阵地。河边阵地的军队打开营门放他们进去，然后再和赵军激战。赵军果然倾巢出动争夺汉军的旗鼓，追逐韩信、张耳。韩信、张耳已进入河边阵地，全军上下都殊死奋战，赵军无法把他们打败。韩信预先派出去的两千轻骑兵，一起等到赵军倾巢出动去追逐战利品的时候，就火速冲进赵军的营垒，把赵军的旗帜全部拔掉，竖立起汉军的两千面红旗。赵军已无法取胜，又不能俘获韩信等人，就想要退回营垒，只见营垒中插满了汉军的红旗，大为震惊，以为汉军已经全部俘获了赵王的将

to dispatch a force of 2,000 light cavalry. Each man was to carry a red flag and, proceeding along a secret route, to conceal himself in the mountains and observe the Zhao army. "When the Zhao forces see me marching out, they are sure to abandon their fortifications and come in pursuit. Then you must enter their walls with all speed, tear down the Zhao flags, and set up the red flags of Han in their place," he instructed them. Then he ordered his lieutenant generals to distribute a light meal to the army, saying, "This day we shall defeat Zhao and feast together!" None of his generals believed that the plan would work, but they feigned agreement and answered, "Very well." Han Xin addressed his officers, saying, "The Zhao forces have already constructed their fortifications in an advantageous position. Moreover, until they see the flags and drums of our commanding general, they will be unwilling to attack our advance column for fear that I will see the difficulty of the position and retreat back up the gorge." Han Xin therefore sent 10,000 men to march ahead out of the gorge and draw up in ranks with their backs to the river that ran through the gorge. The Zhao army, observing this from afar, roared with laughter.[1] At dawn Han Xin raised the flags of the commanding general, set his drums to sounding, and marched out of the mouth of the Jing Gorge. The Zhao army opened their gates and poured out to attack, and for a long time the two armies fought fiercely. At this point Han Xin and Zhang Er deceptively abandoned their flags and drums and fled to the forces drawn up along the river. The columns along the river opened to receive them, and the battle continued to rage. As Han Xin had anticipated, the Zhao forces finally abandoned their fortifications completely in their eagerness to contend for the Han flags and pursue Han Xin and Zhang Er. With Han Xin and Zhang Er in their ranks, however, the army along the river determined to fight to the death and could not be defeated. In the meantime the surprise force of 2,000 cavalry which Han Xin had sent out, waiting until the Zhao forces had abandoned their camp in order to follow up their advantage, rushed into the Zhao fortifications, tore down the Zhao flags, and set up 2,000 red flags of Han in their place. The Zhao forces, unable to achieve a victory and capture Han Xin and the others, were about to return to their fortifications when they discovered that the walls were lined with the red flags of Han. The soldiers

【原文】

乱，遁走，赵将虽斩之，不能禁也。于是汉兵夹击，大破虏赵军，斩成安君泜水上，禽赵王歇。

信乃令军中毋杀广武君，有能生得者购千金。于是有缚广武君而致戏下者，信乃解其缚，东乡坐，西乡对，师事之。

诸将效首虏，休毕贺，因问信曰：“兵法右倍山陵，前左水泽，今者将军令臣等反背水阵，曰破赵会食，臣等不服。然竟以胜，此何术也？”信曰：“此在兵法，顾诸君不察耳。兵法不曰‘陷之死地而后生，置之亡地而后存’？且信非得素拊循士大夫也，此所谓‘驱市人而战之’，其势非置之死地，使人人自为战；今予之生地，皆走，宁尚可得而用之乎！”诸将皆服曰：“善。非臣所及也。”

【今译】

领，于是军队大乱，纷纷落荒而逃，赵将即使诛杀逃兵，也不能禁止。于是汉兵前后夹击，彻底摧垮了赵军，俘虏了大批人马，在泜水岸边杀了成安君，生擒了赵王歇。

韩信传令全军不要杀害广武君，有能活捉他的赏给千金。于是就有人捆着广武君送到军营，韩信亲自给他解开绳索，请他面向东坐，自己面向西与他对坐着，像对待老师那样对待他。

众将献上敌人的首级和俘虏，都向韩信祝贺，趁机问韩信说：“兵法上说行军布阵应该右边和背后靠山、前边和左边临水，这次将军反而令我们背水列阵，说打垮了赵军正式会餐，我们当时并不信服。但是竟然真取得了胜利，这是什么战术啊？”韩信回答说：“这也是兵法上有的，只是诸位没留心罢了。兵法上不是说‘陷之死地而后生，置之亡地而后存’吗？况且我所率领的并不是平时训练有素的将士，这就是所说的‘赶着街市上的百姓去打仗’，在这种形势下非把将士们置之死地，使人人为保全自己而战不可；如果给他们留有生路，就都跑了，怎么还能用他们取胜呢！”将领们都佩服地说：“好啊。将军的谋略不是我们所能赶得上的呀。”

were filled with alarm and, concluding that the Han army had already captured the generals of the king of Zhao, fled in panic in all directions. Though the Zhao generals cut them down on the spot, they could not stop the rout. With this the Han forces closed in from both sides, defeated and captured the Zhao army, executed Chen Yu on the banks of the Zhi River, and took Xie, the king of Zhao, prisoner.

Han Xin issued orders to his army that the lord of Guangwu was not to be killed, and offered a reward of 1,000 catties of gold to the man who could capture him alive. As a result the lord of Guangwu was bound by one of the men and led before the commanding general. Han Xin loosed his bonds, placed him in the seat of honor facing east, and himself took a seat facing west, treating him with the respect due a teacher. The subordinate generals arrived to present their captives and the heads of their victims, and then rested from their labors and joined in congratulating Han Xin on the victory.

Taking advantage of the opportunity, they began to question Han Xin. "According to *The Art of War*, when one fights he should keep the hills to his right or rear, and bodies of water in front of him or to the left," they said. "Yet today you ordered us on the contrary to draw up ranks with our backs to the river, saying, 'We shall defeat Zhao and feast together!' We were opposed to the idea, and yet it has ended in victory. What sort of strategy is this?" "This is in *The Art of War* too," replied Han Xin. "It is just that you have failed to notice it! Does it not say in *The Art of War*, 'Drive them into a fatal position and they will come out alive; place them in a hopeless spot and they will survive?' Moreover, I did not have at my disposal troops that I had trained and led from past times, but was forced, as the saying goes, to round up men from the market place and use them to fight with. Under such circumstances, if I had not placed them in a desperate situation where each man was obliged to fight for his own life, but had allowed them to remain in a safe place, they would have all run away. Then what good would they have been to me?" "Indeed!" His generals exclaimed in admiration. "We would never have thought of that."

【原文】

于是信问广武君曰："仆欲北攻燕，东伐齐，何若而有功？"广武君辞谢曰："臣闻败军之将，不可以言勇，亡国之大夫，不可以图存。今臣败亡之虏，何足以权大事乎！"信曰："仆闻之，百里奚居虞而虞亡，在秦而秦霸，非愚于虞而智于秦也，用与不用，听与不听也。诚令成安君听足下计，若信者亦已为禽矣。以不用足下，故信得侍耳。"因固问曰："仆委心归计，愿足下勿辞。"广武君曰："臣闻智者千虑，必有一失；愚者千虑，必有一得。故曰'狂夫之言，圣人择焉'。顾恐臣计未必足用，愿效愚忠。夫成安君有百战百胜之计，一旦而失之，军败鄗下，身死泜上。今将军涉西河，虏魏王，禽夏说阏与，一举而下井陉，不终朝破赵二十万众，诛成安君。名闻海内，威震天下，农夫莫不辍耕释耒，褕衣甘食，倾耳以待命者。若此，将军

【今译】

于是韩信问广武君说："我要向北攻打燕国，向东讨伐齐国，怎么做才能成功呢？"广武君推辞谢绝说："我听说打了败仗的将领，没资格谈论勇敢，亡了国的大夫，没有资格谋划国家存亡的大计。而今我是兵败国亡的俘虏，有什么资格计议大事呢！"韩信说："我听说，百里奚在虞国而虞国灭亡了，在秦国而秦国称霸，这并不是因为他在虞国愚蠢而到了秦国就聪明了，而在于国君任用不任用他，采纳不采纳他的意见。如果成安君采纳了你的计谋，像我韩信也早被生擒了。因为他没采纳您的计谋，所以我才能够侍奉您啊。"接着又坚决地请教说："我倾心听从您的计谋，希望您不要推辞。"广武君说："我听说智者千虑，必有一失；愚者千虑，必有一得。所以说'狂人的话，圣人也可以选择'。只恐怕我的计谋不足以采用，但我愿献愚诚忠心效力。成安君本来有百战百胜的计谋，然而一旦失掉它，则军队在鄗城之下战败，自己在泜水之上身亡。而今将军横渡西河，俘虏魏王，在阏与生擒夏说，一举攻克井陉，不到一早晨的时间就打垮了赵军二十万人，诛杀了成安君。名声传扬四海，声威震动天下，农民没

Then Han Xin questioned the lord of Guangwu. "I am planning to march north and attack Yan, and from there proceed east to strike at Qi. What would be the most effective way to go about it?" The lord of Guangwu, however, declined to answer, saying, "The general of a defeated army, they say, is not qualified to talk of bravery, nor the minister of a lost nation to invent schemes for survival. Now that I am a prisoner taken in defeat, how could I be worthy to weigh such great undertakings?" Han Xin replied, "I have heard it said that when Boli Xi lived in Yu, Yu was destroyed, but when he lived in Qin, Qin became a great power. This was not because he was stupid when he was in Yu and wise when in Qin. It was only because in one he was employed and in the other he was not; in one he was listened to and in the other ignored. As a matter of fact, if Chen Yu had listened to your plan, even I would have become your prisoner. It is only because he did not make use of you that I have the honor of waiting upon you now." Han Xin continued to press him for an answer, saying, "I shall set all of my ideas aside and do whatever you suggest. I beg you to decline no further!" "They say," answered the lord of Guangwu, "that among the schemes of the wisest man one in a thousand will end in error, while among those of the greatest fool one in a thousand will succeed. Therefore it is said that a sage will find something to choose even from the words of a madman. I am doubtful whether any plan I might suggest would be worthy of consideration, but I beg to exercise the limits of my poor ability. "Chen Yu had a plan which seemed to insure a hundred victories in as many battles, and yet in one morning it proved a failure, his army was defeated before the walls of Hao, and he himself met death on the banks of the Zhi. Now you have crossed the Yellow River to the west, made a prisoner of the king of Wei, captured Xia Yue at Yuyu, in one stroke descended the Jing Gorge and, before the morning was out, defeated Zhao's great army of 200,000 and executed Chen Yu. Your fame resounds throughout the land and your

【原文】

之所长也。然而众劳卒罢，其实难用。今将军欲举倦罢之兵，顿之燕坚城之下，欲战恐久力不能拔，情见势屈，旷日粮竭，而弱燕不服，齐必距境以自强也。燕齐相持而不下，则刘项之权未有所分也。若此者，将军所短也。臣愚，窃以为亦过矣。故善用兵者不以短击长，而以长击短。”韩信曰：“然则何由？”广武君对曰：“方今为将军计，莫如案甲休兵，镇赵抚其孤，百里之内，牛酒日至，以飨士大夫醳兵，北首燕路，而后遣辩士奉咫尺之书，暴其所长于燕，燕必不敢不听从。燕已从，使諠言者东告齐，齐必从风而服，虽有智者，亦不知为齐计矣。如是，则天下事皆可图也。兵固有先声而后实者，此之谓也。”韩信

【今译】

有不停止耕作，放下农具的，穿好的，吃好的，专心倾听等候命令。像这些，都是将军的长处。然而眼下百姓劳苦，士卒疲惫，很难用以作战。如果将军想发动疲惫的军队，停留在燕国坚固的城池之下，要战恐怕时间过长兵力也不足攻克燕国，实情暴露威势就会减弱，旷日持久粮食耗尽，而弱小的燕国不肯降服，齐国一定会坚守边境以图自强。燕、齐两国坚持不肯降服，那么刘项双方就不能分出胜负。像这些，就是将军的短处。我的见识浅薄，但我私下认为攻燕伐齐是失策啊。所以善于带兵打仗的人不拿自己的短处攻击敌人的长处，而是拿自己的长处去攻击敌人的短处。”韩信说：“这样的话应该怎么办呢？”广武君回答说：“如今为将军打算，不如停止战事，休养士卒，安定赵国的社会秩序，抚恤阵亡将士的遗孤，方圆百里之内，每天送来牛肉美酒，用以犒劳将士，摆出向北进攻燕国的姿态，而后派出说客拿着书信，在燕国显示自己战略上的长处，燕国必不敢不听从。燕国顺从之后，再派说客往东劝降齐国，齐国一定会闻风而降服，即使有聪明睿智的人，也不知该怎样替齐国谋划了。如果这样，那么夺取天下的大事都可以谋求了。用兵本来就有先虚张声势而后采取实际行动的，我说的

might fills the world with awe. The farmers have left their ploughing and cast aside their hoes and, anticipating that your armies will soon be upon them, have donned their finest clothes and are feasting while they may, inclining their ears in wait for your command. Such is the strength of your position. "On the other hand, your troops are tired and worn out, and in point of fact are not of much use. Now you plan to lead this force of weary and exhausted men and further exhaust them before the stout walls of Yan. Yet, no matter how long you battle, your strength will not be sufficient to overcome them. The hopelessness of your situation will become apparent as your might declines, the days will pass fruitlessly while your supplies grow scarce, and still Yan, weak though it is, will not submit. Qi in the meantime will certainly man its frontiers and strengthen its defense and, with Yan and Qi supporting each other and refusing to capitulate, the king of Han and Xiang Yu will continue at a stalemate and their fate will never be decided. This is the weak side of your position. In my humble opinion such a move would be a mistake, for one who is skilled in the use of arms never attacks strength with weakness, but only weakness with strength." "Then what course should I follow?" asked Han Xin. "If I were to suggest a plan for you," replied the lord of Guangwu, "I would say the best thing to do would be to halt your army and rest your soldiers. Patrol the land of Zhao and comfort the orphans made in today's battle. From the surrounding area have oxen and wine brought each day to feast your officers and banquet your men, and face them north towards the roads of Yan. After that you may dispatch your rhetoricians bearing documents to prove how superior your strength is to that of Yan, and Yan will not dare to turn a deaf ear. When Yan has submitted, you may send your propagandists to the east to talk to Qi, and Qi too will be obliged by the trend of events to submit, for even her wisest councilors will be able to think of no alternative. In this way you can have your will with the whole empire. In warfare the important thing is to publicize yourself first, and act afterward. Therefore I have suggested this plan." Han Xin approved of his plan and set about putting into action, dispatching an envoy to Yan. Yan bowed before the

【原文】

曰："善。"从其策，发使使燕，燕从风而靡。乃遣使报汉，因请立张耳为赵王，以镇抚其国。汉王许之，乃立张耳为赵王。

楚数使奇兵渡河击赵，赵王耳、韩信往来救赵，因行定赵城邑，发兵诣汉。楚方急围汉王于荥阳，汉王南出，之宛、叶间，得黥布，走入成皋，楚又复急围之。六月，汉王出成皋，东渡河，独与滕公俱，从张耳军修武。至，宿传舍。晨自称汉使，驰入赵壁。张耳、韩信未起，即其卧内上夺其印符，以麾召诸将，易置之。信、耳起，乃知汉王来，大惊。汉王夺两人军，即令张耳备守赵地，拜韩信为相国，收赵兵未发者击齐。

信引兵东，未渡平原，闻汉王使郦食其已说下齐，韩信欲止。范阳辩士蒯通说信曰："将军受诏击齐，而汉独发间使下齐，宁有诏止

【今译】

就是这种情况。"韩信说："好。"听从了他的计策，派遣使者出使燕国，燕国听到消息果然立刻降服。于是韩信派人报告汉王，并请求立张耳为赵王，用以镇抚赵国。汉王答应了他的请求，就封张耳为赵王。

楚国多次派出奇兵渡过黄河攻击赵国，赵王张耳和韩信往来救援，在行军中安定赵国的城邑，调兵支援汉王。楚军正把汉王紧紧地围困在荥阳，汉王从南面突围，到了宛县、叶县一带，接纳了黥布，奔入成皋，楚军又急忙包围了成皋。六月间，汉王逃出成皋，向东渡过黄河，只有滕公相随，跟随张耳的军队来到修武。一到修武，他们就住进客馆里。第二天早晨他自称是汉王的使臣，骑马奔入赵军的营垒。韩信、张耳还没有起床，汉王就在他们的卧室里夺取了他们的印信和兵符，用军旗召集众将，更换了他们的职务。韩信、张耳起床后，才知道汉王来了，大为震惊。汉王夺取了他二人统率的军队，命令张耳防守赵地，任命韩信为相国，让他召集赵国还没有发往荥阳的部队去攻打齐国。

韩信领兵向东进发，还没渡过平原津，听说汉王已经派郦食其说服齐王归顺了，韩信打算停止进军。范阳说客蒯通规劝韩信说："将

report of Han Xin's power and submitted. Han Xin sent an envoy to report this to the king of Han, at the same time requesting that Zhang Er be made king of Zhao to bring peace and order to the land. The king of Han gave his permission and set up Zhang Er as king of Zhao.

Chu from time to time sent surprise forces across the Yellow River to attack Zhao, but Zhang Er and Han Xin, by moving back and forth through the area, were able to save Zhao, step by step gain control of its cities, and eventually dispatch a force of troops to aid the king of Han, who at this time was in Xingyang surrounded and sorely pressed by the armies of Chu. The king of Han escaped south to the area of Yuan and She, where he obtained the aid of Qing Bu, and then fled to safety in Chenggao. The Chu forces once more surrounded and pressed him. In the sixth month the king of Han fled from Chenggao, crossed to the east side of the Yellow River and, accompanied only by Lord Teng, went to join the army of Zhang Er at Xiuwu. When he arrived he stopped for a night at the post house and at dawn the next day, representing himself as an envoy from the king of Han, hastened into the Zhao camp. Zhang Er and Han Xin being still in bed, he went to their chambers, seized their seals of command, and with these summoned all the subordinate generals and began assigning them to new posts. When Han Xin and Zhang Er woke up and found that the king of Han had arrived, they were astounded. Thus the king of Han seized the armies of both men, ordering Zhang Er to man and guard the region of Zhao, and making Han Xin his prime minister with orders to form an army from the men of Zhao who had not yet been pressed into service and proceed to attack Qi.

Han Xin led his troops east but, before he had crossed the Yellow River at the Pingyuan Ford, he received word that the king of Han had sent Li Yiji to bargain with Qi and that Qi had already submitted. Han Xin wanted to

【原文】

将军乎？何以得毋行也！且郦生一士，伏轼掉三寸之舌，下齐七十余城，将军将数万众，岁余乃下赵五十余城，为将数岁，反不如一竖儒之功乎？”于是信然之，从其计，遂渡河。齐已听郦生，即留纵酒，罢备汉守御。信因袭齐历下军，遂至临菑。齐王田广以郦生卖己，乃亨之，而走高密，使使之楚请救。韩信已定临菑，遂东追广至高密西。楚亦使龙且将，号称二十万，救齐。

齐王广、龙且并军与信战，未合。人或说龙且曰：“汉兵远斗穷战，其锋不可当。齐、楚自居其地战，兵易败散。不如深壁，令齐王使其信臣招所亡城，亡城闻其王在，楚来救，必反汉。汉兵二千

【今译】

军是奉诏攻打齐国，汉王只不过暗中派遣一个密使游说齐国投降，难道有诏令让将军停止进攻吗？为什么不进军呢！况且郦生不过是个读书人，坐着车子摇动三寸之舌，就收服齐国七十多座城邑，将军率领数万大军，一年多的时间才攻克赵国五十多座城邑，为将多年，还不如一个读书小子的功劳吗？”于是韩信认为他说得对，听从他的计策，就率军渡过黄河。齐王听从郦生的规劝以后，就挽留郦生开怀畅饮，撤除了防御汉军的设施。韩信乘机突袭齐国历下的军队，很快就打到国都临菑。齐王田广认为被郦生出卖了，就把他煮死，而后逃往高密，派出使者前往楚国求救。韩信平定临菑以后，就向东追赶田广，一直追到高密城西。楚国也派龙且率领兵马，号称二十万，前来援救齐国。

齐王田广和龙且合兵一起与韩信作战，还没交锋。有人规劝龙且说：“汉军远离国土拼死作战，其锋芒锐不可当。齐楚两军在本乡本土作战，士兵容易逃散。不如构筑牢固的工事，让齐王派他的亲信大臣去安抚已经沦陷的城邑，这些城邑的官吏和百姓知道他们的国王还在，楚军又来援救，一定会反叛汉军。汉军客居两千里之外，齐国城

halt his march, but Kuai Tong, a rhetorician from Fanyang, counseled him against this. "You have received a royal order to attack Qi. In the meantime the king of Han has independently dispatched a secret envoy to talk Qi into submission. But there has been no royal order instructing you to halt, has there? How can you fail to proceed on your mission? Furthermore, this one man, Master Li Yiji, by bowing graciously from his carriage and wagging his meager tongue, has conquered the seventy-odd cities of Qi, while you, with your army of thousands, needed a year and over before you could gain control of the fifty-odd cities of Zhao. Could it be that what you have done in your several years as a general is not equal to the accomplishments of one wretched Coufucianist?" Persuaded by his arguments, Han Xin followed his advice and proceeded to cross the Yellow River. Qi in the meantime, having heeded Master Li's persuasions, was detaining him with wine and feasts and had at the same time dispersed the defense which it had prepared against the Han armies. Han Xin was thus able to attack the Qi army at Lixia and proceed as far as Linzi. Tian Guang, the king of Qi, concluding that Master Li had betrayed him, had Master Li boiled alive and then fled to Gaomi, where he sent an envoy to Chu to beg for aid. After conquering Linzi, Han Xin proceeded east in pursuit of Tian Guang as far as the west of Gaomi. Chu also sent its general Long Ju with a reputed force of 200,000 to aid Qi.

The king of Qi and Long Ju with their combined armies fought with Han Xin but, before the armies had closed in battle, someone advised Long Ju, saying, "The soldiers of Han, battling far from their homeland, will fight to the death. They cannot be opposed in combat. Qi and Chu, however, are fighting on their own ground and their soldiers may easily run away in defeat. It would be better to strengthen your fortifications and have the king of Qi send his trusted ministers to rally the lost cities of Qi. If the lost cities hear that their king is still alive and that aid has come from Chu, they will certainly revolt against the Han army. The Han soldiers have marched a thousand miles into a strange land. If the cities of Qi all turn

【原文】

里客居，齐城皆反之，其势无所得食，可无战而降也。”龙且曰：“吾平生知韩信为人，易与耳。且夫救齐不战而降之，吾何功？今战而胜之，齐之半可得，何为止！”遂战，与信夹潍水陈。韩信乃夜令人为万余囊，满盛沙，壅水上流，引军半渡，击龙且，佯不胜，还走。龙且果喜曰：“固知信怯也。”遂追信渡水。信使人决壅囊，水大至。龙且军大半不得渡，即急击，杀龙且。龙且水东军散走，齐王广亡去。信遂追北至城阳，皆虏楚卒。

汉四年，遂皆降平齐。使人言汉王曰：“齐伪诈多变，反覆之国也，南边楚，不为假王以镇之，其势不定。愿为假王便。”当是时，楚方急围汉王于荥阳，韩信使者至，发书，汉王大怒，骂曰：“吾困于

【今译】

邑的人都纷纷起来反叛他们，那势必得不到粮食，这就可以迫使他们不战而降。”龙且说：“我一向了解韩信的为人，容易对付。而且援救齐国不战而使韩信投降，我还有什么功劳？如今战胜他，齐国一半土地可以分封给我，为什么不打？”于是开始战斗，与韩信隔着潍水摆开阵势。韩信下令连夜赶做一万多口袋，装满沙土，堵住潍水上游，带领军队渡河去攻击龙且，前军已抵达对岸，中军还未渡过，假装战败，往回跑。龙且果然高兴地说：“本来我就知道韩信胆小怕事。”于是就渡过潍水追赶韩信。韩信派人挖开堵塞潍水的沙袋，河水汹涌而来。龙且的军队一多半还没渡过河去，韩信立即回师猛烈反击，杀死了龙且。龙且在潍水东岸尚未渡河的部队见势四散逃跑，齐王田广也逃跑了。韩信向北追赶败兵直到城阳，把楚军士兵全部俘虏了。

汉四年，韩信降服且平定了整个齐国。派人向汉王上书说：“齐国狡诈多变，是个反复无常的国家，南面与楚国交界，不设立一个暂时代理的王来镇压，局势一定不能稳定。希望允许我暂时代理齐王。”此时，楚军在荥阳紧紧地围困着汉王，韩信的使者到了，汉王打开书

against them, they will find themselves with no way to get food for their forces, and they can be overcome without a fight." Long Ju replied, "I have long known what sort of man Han Xin is. He is easy enough to deal with. Furthermore, now that I have come to rescue Qi, if I were to overcome him without a battle, what merit would I gain from the expedition? But if I fight and beat him, half of Qi can be mine. Why should I stop now?" In the end he engaged Han Xin in battle, the two armies drawing up on opposite sides of the Wei River. In the night Han Xin ordered his men to make more than 10,000 bags, fill them with sand, and block the flow of the river upstream. Then he led his army halfway across the river to attack Long Ju but, pretending to be defeated, fled back to the shore. As Han Xin had expected, Long Ju announced delightedly, "I always knew that Han Xin was a coward!" and forthwith pursued Han Xin across the river. Han Xin then ordered his men to break open the dam of sandbags. The water came rushing down so that the large part of Long Ju's army could not get across the river. With all speed Han Xin closed in and killed Long Ju, while the men of Long Ju's army who had crossed to the east side of the river fled in disorder. Tian Guang, the king of Qi, fled at the same time. Han Xin pursued the defeated army as far as Chengyang, where he captured all the soldiers of Chu.

In the fourth year of Han, having completed the conquest and pacification of Qi, Han Xin dispatched an envoy to report to the king of Han, saying, "Qi is full of deceit and shifty loyalties, a land fickle in its faith. Moreover, it borders Chu on the south. Unless I am made an acting king with power to bring it to order, the situation cannot be stabilized. For the sake of convenience I ask to be made an acting king." Han Xin's envoy arrived just at the time when the king of Han was being pressed in siege at Xingyang. When Han Xin's letter was handed to him the king began to curse. "Here I am in a critical position, hoping day and night that he will come to aid me,

【原文】

此，旦暮望若来佐我，乃欲自立为王！”张良、陈平蹑汉王足，因附耳语曰：“汉方不利，宁能禁信之王乎？不如因而立，善遇之，使自为守。不然，变生。”汉王亦悟，因复骂曰：“大丈夫定诸侯，即为真王耳，何以假为！”乃遣张良往立信为齐王，征其兵击楚。

楚已亡龙且，项王恐，使盱眙人武涉往说齐王信曰：“天下共苦秦久矣，相与戮力击秦。秦已破，计功割地，分土而王之，以休士卒。今汉王复兴兵而东，侵人之分，夺人之地，已破三秦，引兵出关，收诸侯之兵以东击楚，其意非尽吞天下者不休，其不知厌足如是甚也。且汉王不可必，身居项王掌握中数矣，项王怜而活之，然得脱，辄倍约，复击项王，其不可亲信如此。今足下虽自以与汉王为厚交，为之

【今译】

信一看，勃然大怒，骂道：“我在这儿被围困，日夜盼着你来帮助我，你却想自立为王！”张良、陈平暗中踩汉王的脚，凑近汉王的耳朵说：“目前汉军处境不利，难道有力量禁止韩信称王吗？不如趁机册立他为王，优待他，让他自己镇守齐国。不然可能发生变乱。”汉王也明白过来了，接着又骂道：“大丈夫平定了诸侯，就做真王罢了，何必做个暂时代理的王呢！”于是派遣张良前往册立韩信为齐王，征调他的军队攻打楚军。

楚军失去龙且后，项王害怕了，派盱眙人武涉前往劝说齐王韩信说：“天下人为秦朝的统治所苦已久了，大家才一起合力攻打它。秦朝灭亡后，按照功劳分封田邑，各自为王，以便休兵罢战。如今汉王又领兵东进，侵犯他人的边界，掠夺他人的封地，已经攻破三秦，率领军队开出函谷关，收集各路诸侯的军队向东攻打楚国，他的意图是不吞并整个天下不肯罢休，他贪心不足到这地步真是太过分了。况且汉王不可信任，他多次落入项王的手中，是项王怜悯他让他活了下来，然而一旦脱身，他就背弃盟约，再次攻打项王，他是如此地不可亲近不可信任。如今您即使自认为和汉王交情深厚，替他竭尽全力作战，

and now he wants to make himself a king!" Zhang Liang and Chen Ping stepped on the king's foot and, drawing close to his ear, whispered, "We are at a disadvantage at the moment. How can we stop Han Xin from becoming a king? It would be better to go along with his request, make him a king, and treat him well so that he will guard Qi for his own sake. Otherwise he may desert us altogether!" The king realized his error and began to curse again. "When one of my men overcomes a feudal lord I make him nothing less than a real king. Why should I make him only an 'acting' king?" Then he dispatched Zhang Liang to go and install Han Xin as king of Qi, and levy his troops to fight against Chu.

Chu had already lost Long Ju, and Xiang Yu, growing fearful, sent Wu She, a man of Xuyi, to go and talk to the new king of Qi. "The world suffered a long time under the tyranny of Qin," he said, "until we joined our strength and attacked it. When Qin was defeated we calculated the merit each had won, divided up the land, gave each his portion to rule, and set our soldiers to rest. Now the king of Han has called up his army again and marched east, invading the territories of other men and seizing their lands. He has already destroyed the three kingdoms of Qin, led his men out of the Pass, drafted the soldiers of the other nobles, and marched east to attack Chu. It is his intention not to rest until he has swallowed up the whole empire, so insatiable are his desires! "Moreover, the king of Han cannot be trusted. Several times Xiang Yu, the king of Chu, has had him in his grasp, but always he has taken pity on him and let him live. And yet no sooner had the king of Han escaped than he went back on his agreement and once more attacked King Xiang. This shows how untrustworthy he is. Now you consider yourself his fast friend and are doing your best to fight for him,

【原文】

尽力用兵，终为之所禽矣。足下所以得须臾至今者，以项王尚存也。当今二王之事，权在足下。足下右投则汉王胜，左投则项王胜。项王今日亡，则次取足下。足下与项王有故，何不反汉与楚连和，三分天下王之？今释此时，而自必于汉以击楚，且为智者固若此乎！”韩信谢曰：“臣事项王，官不过郎中，位不过执戟，言不听，画不用，故倍楚而归汉。汉王授我上将军印，予我数万众，解衣衣我，推食食我，言听计用，故吾得以至于此。夫人深亲信我，我倍之不祥，虽死不易。幸为信谢项王！”

武涉已去，齐人蒯通知天下权在韩信，欲为奇策而感动之，以相人说韩信曰：“仆尝受相人之术。”韩信曰：“先生相人何如？”对曰：“贵贱在于骨法，忧喜在于容色，成败在于决断，以此参之，万不失一。”韩信曰：“善。先生相寡人何如？”对曰：“愿少间。”信曰：“左

【今译】

最终还得被他所擒。您之所以能够延续到今天，是因为项王还存在啊。当前刘、项争夺天下的胜败，举足轻重的是您。您投奔西边，那么汉王胜，您投奔东边，那么项王胜。假若项王今天被消灭，下一个就该消灭您了。您和项王有旧交，为什么不反汉与楚联合，三分天下自立为王呢？如今错过这个时机，自以为必然要站到汉王一边攻打项王，一个聪明睿智的人难道应该这样做吗？”韩信辞谢说：“我侍奉项王时，只不过做了郎中这样的小官，职位不过是个持戟的卫士，我说的话不听，我献的计策不用，所以我背楚归汉。汉王授予我上将军的印信，给我数万人马，脱下他身上的衣服给我穿，把好食物让给我吃，言听计从，所以我才能够到今天这个样子。汉王对我十分亲近、信赖，我背叛他不吉祥，即使到死也不变心。希望您替我辞谢项王的盛情！”

武涉走后，齐国人蒯通知道天下胜负的关键在于韩信，想要出奇计打动他，就用相术劝说韩信说：“我曾经学过看相的技艺。”韩信说：“先生给人看相用什么方法？”蒯通回答说：“人的高贵、卑贱在于骨骼，忧愁、喜悦在于面色，成功、失败在于决断，用这三项验证，万无一失。”韩信说：“好。先生给我看看怎么样？”蒯通回答说：“希

but in the end you will find yourself his prisoner. The only reason you have been able to go your way so far is that King Xiang is still alive. "Today the fate of these two kings lies with you. If you throw your weight one way, the king of Han will win; if you throw it the other way, King Xiang of Chu will win. But if King Xiang should perish today, it would be your turn to be seized next. You and King Xiang are old friends. Why do you not turn against Han, make your peace with Chu, and rule a third of the empire? Now you are going to throw this opportunity away, put your faith in Han, and attack Chu. Is this in truth the policy of a wise man?" Han Xin, however, declined his advice. "When I served under King Xiang," he replied, "my office was no more than that of an attendant, and my position only that of spear bearer. He did not listen to my counsels nor make use of my plans. Therefore I turned my back on Chu and gave my allegiance to Han. The king of Han presented me with the seals of a commanding general and granted me a force of 20,000 or 30,000 men. He doffed his own garments to clothe me, gave me food from his own plate, listened to my words, and used my counsels. Therefore I have been able to come this far. When a man has treated me with such deep kindness and faith, it would be ill-omened to betray him. Even in death I would not be disloyal. I beg you to convey my regrets to King Xiang."

When Wu She departed, Kuai Tong, a man of Qi, realizing that Han Xin held the balance of power in the empire, thought to sway his resolution by means of a curious scheme. Mentioning the art of physiognomy to Han Xin, he said, "I once studied this art of reading people's faces." "Just how do you go about reading faces?" asked Han Xin. "High or low position are revealed in the bone structure, sorrow or joy in the countenance, and success or failure in the power of decision. If one considers these three factors, he will make no mistake in a thousand cases!" "Indeed! And what would you say of me?" "May I speak to you a moment in private?" said

【原文】

右去矣。”通曰：“相君之面，不过封侯，又危不安。相君之背，贵乃不可言。”韩信曰：“何谓也？”蒯通曰：“天下初发难也，俊雄豪杰连号一呼，天下之士云合雾集，鱼鳞杂遝，熛至风起。当此之时，忧在亡秦而已。今楚汉分争，使天下无罪之人肝胆涂地，父子暴骸骨于中野，不可胜数。楚人起彭城，转斗逐北，至于荥阳，乘利席卷，威震天下。然兵困于京、索之间，迫西山而不能进者，三年于此矣。汉王将数十万之众，距巩、雒，阻山河之险，一日数战，无尺寸之功，折北不救，败荥阳，伤成皋，遂走宛、叶之间，此所谓智勇俱困者也。夫锐气挫于阻塞，而粮食竭于内府，百姓罢极怨望，容容无所倚。以臣料之，其势非天下之贤圣固不能息天下之祸。当今两主之命县于足下。足下为汉则汉胜，与楚则楚胜。臣愿披腹心，输肝胆，效愚计，

【今译】

望随从人员暂时回避一下。”韩信说：“周围的人离开吧。”蒯通说：“看您的面相，只不过封侯，而且还有危险。看您的背相，显贵而不可言。”韩信说：“这话是什么意思呢？”蒯通说：“天下开始举兵起事的时候，英雄豪杰纷纷建立名号，一声呼喊，天下有志之士像云雾那样聚集起来，像鱼鳞那样密集，如同火焰迸飞、狂风骤起。在这个时候，大家关心的只是消灭秦朝罢了。而今楚汉分割争霸，使天下无辜的百姓肝胆涂地，父子的尸骨暴露在荒郊野外，数不胜数。楚国人从彭城起事，转战四方，追逐败兵，直到荥阳，乘着胜利，像卷席子一样向前挺进，声势震动天下。然后军队被困在京、索之间，被阻于成皋以西的山岳地带不能再前进，已经三年了。汉王统领几十万人马在巩县、洛阳一带抗拒楚军，凭借着山河的险要，虽然一日数战，却没什么功劳，以至遭受挫折失败，几乎不能自救，在荥阳战败，在成皋受伤，于是逃到宛、叶两县之间，这就是所说的智尽勇乏了。将士的锐气因长期困顿于险要关塞而受挫，仓库的粮食也消耗殆尽，百姓疲劳困苦，心怀不满，人心动荡，无依无靠。以我估计，这样的局面若不是天下的圣贤就不能平息这场天下的祸乱。当今刘、项二王的命运都悬在您的手里。您协助汉王，汉王就胜利，协助楚王，楚王就胜利。我愿意披肝沥胆，敬献愚计，只恐

Kuai Tong. "Let those about me retire!" Han Xin ordered. "Examining your faee," Kuai Tong eontinued, "I see that you will never be more than a feudal lord. And I see danger and unrest. But if you turn your baek,[2] I see sueh honor as eannot be expressed in words!" "How so?" asked Han Xin. "When revolt first broke out in the world the great warriors and brave heroes proelaimed their titles and shouted as with one voiee, and the soldiers of all the world massed about them like thiekening elouds, meshed their forees like the seales of a fish, flamed forth, and rose before the wind. At that time the thought of eaeh was only to destroy Qin. But now Chu and Han rend the empire with their eontention so that eountless innoeent men of the world spill their bowels upon the soaking earth and the bones of father and son are left to bleach in the open field. The men of Chu rose up from Pengeheng, and in battle after battle pursued the fleeing Han forees as far as Xingyang, riding upon the erest of vietory and rolling up the empire like a mat before them, until the whole world trembled at their might. But for three years now their soldiers have suffered reverses in the area between Jing and Suo, bloeked by the western mountains and unable to advanee. The king of Han with a host of 200,000 or 300,000 men has bloeked their advanee at Gong and Luoyang, relying upon the defense of mountains and rivers. But though he fights several engagements a day, he is powerless to win an ineh of territory, nor ean he break away and flee without perishing. He was defeated at Xingyang, wounded at Chenggao, and finally foreed to flee into the area of Yuan and She. This is a ease in whieh both the wise and the brave are at a stalemate. The keen spirits of the one are dashed against impregnable barriers; the provisions of the other grow searee in his storehouses, while the eommon people, exhausted and worn with hatred and resentment, reel and stagger without means of support. It is my judgment that under sueh eonditions none but the wisest of men ean ever bring sureease to the ills of the world! "Now the fate of these two rulers lies with you. If you deelare for Han, Han will win; if for Chu, then Chu will win. I would open my heart and mind to you, exhaust my poor energies, and devise for you a plan, but I fear that you will not heed it. If, however, you were truly to give ear to my seheme, I would say that it would be best to take advantage of these two rivals and preserve

【原文】

恐足下不能用也。诚能听臣之计，莫若两利而俱存之，三分天下，鼎足而居，其势莫敢先动。夫以足下之贤圣，有甲兵之众，据强齐，从燕、赵，出空虚之地而制其后，因民之欲，西乡为百姓请命，则天下风走而响应矣，孰敢不听！割大弱强，以立诸侯，诸侯已立，天下服听而归德于齐。案齐之故，有胶、泗之地，怀诸侯以德，深拱揖让，则天下之君王相率而朝于齐矣。盖闻天与弗取，反受其咎；时至不行，反受其殃。愿足下熟虑之。”

韩信曰：“汉王遇我甚厚，载我以其车，衣我以其衣，食我以其食。吾闻之，乘人之车者载人之患，衣人之衣者怀人之忧，食人之食者死人之事，吾岂可以乡利倍义乎！”蒯生曰：“足下自以为善汉王，

【今译】

怕您不采纳啊。果真能听从我的计策，不如让楚、汉双方都不受损害，同时存在下去，您和他们三分天下、鼎足而立，形成那种局面，就没有谁敢轻举妄动。凭借您的贤能圣德，拥有众多的人马装备，占据强大的齐国，迫使燕、赵服从，出兵到刘、项两军的空虚地带，牵制他们的后方，顺应百姓的心愿，向西去制止刘、项纷争，为军民百姓解除困苦，那么，天下就会迅速地群起而追随，有谁敢不听从！割取大国的疆土削弱强国的势力，用以分封诸侯，诸侯封立后，天下就会归服听命于齐国的德政。稳守齐国故有的疆土，占据胶河、泗水流域，用恩德安抚诸侯，恭谨谦让，那么天下的君王就会相继前来朝拜齐国。听说苍天赐予的好处不接受，反而会受到惩罚；时机到了不采取行动，反而要遭祸殃。希望您仔细地考虑这件事。”

韩信说：“汉王给我的待遇很优厚，他的车子给我坐，他的衣裳给我穿，他的食物给我吃。我听说，坐人家车子的人要分担人家的祸患，穿人家衣裳的人心里要想着人家的忧患，吃人家食物的人要为人家的事业效死，我怎么能够图谋私利而背信弃义呢！”蒯通说：“你自认

them both. Divide the empire into three shares and let each of you stand like the legs of a tripod. Under such circumstances neither of the others will dare to make the first move. "With your great wisdom and your host of soldiers, you could make your base in powerful Qi, command Yan and Zhao and, moving out into the unoccupied lands, seize control of the areas to the rear of Han and Chu. Then you could gratify the desires of the people by facing the powers of the west and demanding that they spare the lives of the masses. The whole world will respond to your call and hasten to you as though upon the wind. Who would dare to turn a deaf ear? You could divide the great states, weaken the powerful, and set up feudal rulers and, when the lords were established, all the world would harken to your words and bow before the beneficence of Qi. You may base your power upon the old land of Qi, occupy the regions of Jiao and Si, win over the nobles through your favors, retire within your palace, fold your hands and bow in humble deprecation, and the rulers of the earth will lead each other on to pay homage to Qi. Yet I have heard that 'he who does not take when Heaven offers, receives misfortune instead; he who does not act when the time comes, suffers disaster instead.' I beg you to consider most carefully!"

Han Xin replied, "The king of Han has treated me most generously, placing me in his own carriage, clothing me with his own garments, and giving me food to eat from his own plate. I have heard it said that he who rides in another man's carriage must share his woes, he who puts on another man's clothes dons his sorrow as well, and he who eats another man's food must serve him to the death. How could I turn my back on what is right merely for the hope of gain?" "You consider yourself a close friend of the king of Han," said Kuai Tong, "and hope thereby to create a position for yourself and your family for all time to come. But if I may be so bold, I believe you are mistaken. When Zhang Er, the king of Changshan, and Chen Yu,

【原文】

欲建万世之业，臣窃以为误矣。始常山王、成安君为布衣时，相与为刎颈之交，后争张黡、陈泽之事，二人相怨。常山王背项王，奉项婴头而窜，逃归于汉王。汉王借兵而东下，杀成安君泜水之南，头足异处，卒为天下笑。此二人相与，天下至欢也。然而卒相禽者，何也？患生于多欲而人心难测也。今足下欲行忠信以交于汉王，必不能固于二君之相与也，而事多大于张黡、陈泽。故臣以为足下必汉王之不危己，亦误矣。大夫种、范蠡存亡越，霸句践，立功成名而身死亡。野兽已尽而猎狗亨。夫以交友言之，则不如张耳之与成安君者也；以忠信言之，则不过大夫种、范蠡之于句践也。此二人者，足以观矣。愿

【今译】

为和汉王友好，想建立流传万世的功业，我私下认为这种想法是错的。当初常山王、成安君还是平民百姓时，结成刎颈之交，后来因为张黡、陈泽的事发生争执，使得二人彼此仇恨。常山王背叛项王，捧着项婴的人头逃跑，归降汉王。汉王借给他军队向东进击，在泜水以南杀死了成安君，成安君身首异处，最终被天下人耻笑。这两个人的交情，可以说是天下最要好的。然而到头来都想把对方擒获，这是为什么呢？祸患生于贪得无厌而人心又难以猜测。如今您打算用忠诚、信义与汉王结交，一定没有他们二人的交情牢固，而你们之间的事情又大多比张黡、陈泽的事件重要。所以我认为您断定汉王不会危害自己，也错了。大夫文种、范蠡使濒临灭亡的越国保存下来，辅佐勾践称霸诸侯，功成名就之后，文种被迫自杀，范蠡被迫逃亡。野兽已经打完了，猎犬就被烹杀。以交情友谊而论，您和汉王就比不上张耳与成安君了；以忠诚信义而论，也赶不上大夫文种、范蠡与越王勾践了。从这两个人来看，足够您断定是非了。希望您深思熟虑。况且我听说，勇敢、谋略使君主感到威胁的人会有危险；而功勋卓著冠盖天下的人得不到赏

the lord of Cheng'an, were still commoners, they swore to be friends until death, and yet after they had quarreled over the affair of Zhang Yan and Chen Shi, they grew to hate each other. Zhang Er turned his back upon Xiang Yu and crept off with Xiang Ying's head to join the king of Han. There he borrowed soldiers from the king of Han, marched east again, and, south of the Zhi River, slaughtered Chen Yu, who, his head and feet torn asunder, ended as a laughing stock of the world. These two had been the fastest friends in the world. Why then did one end as the prisoner of the other? Because evil arises from excess of desires, and the heart of man is hard to fathom! "Now though you hope to conduct your dealings with the king of Han in loyalty and good faith, you can never be closer to him than these two men, Zhang Er and Chen Yu, were to each other, while there are many things to stand between you more serious than the affair of Zhang Yan and Chen Shi. Therefore I believe that you are mistaken in thinking that there is no danger in trusting the king of Han. "Dafu Zhong and Fan Li once saved the doomed state of Yue, made its ruler, Goujian, a dictator, and won fame and glory, and yet they themselves perished. 'When the wild beasts have all been captured,' says the old proverb, 'the hunting dog is put into the pot to boil.' You talk of friendship, but yours is nothing like that of Zhang Er and Chen Yu; you speak of loyalty, but you cannot do more than Dafu Zhong and Fan Li for Goujian. These two cases are well worth noting. I beg you to consider them deeply. "They say that bravery and cunning which make even one's own ruler tremble only endanger one's self, while the merit which overshadows the world is never rewarded. Let me for a moment recount your own merit and cunning. You crossed the western reaches of the Yellow River, made a prisoner of the king of Wei, and captured Xia Yue; you led your troops down the Jing Gorge, executed Chen Yu, subdued Zhao, terrified Yan into submission, and subjugated Qi. In the south you crushed the Chu army of 200,000 men; in the east you killed Long Ju, and now you have turned west to report your deeds to the king of Han. One may say that you have won merit unparalleled in the

【原文】

足下深虑之。且臣闻勇略震主者身危，而功盖天下者不赏。臣请言大王功略：足下涉西河，虏魏王，禽夏说，引兵下井陉，诛成安君，徇赵，胁燕，定齐，南摧楚人之兵二十万，东杀龙且，西乡以报，此所谓功无二于天下，而略不世出者也。今足下戴震主之威，挟不赏之功，归楚，楚人不信；归汉，汉人震恐。足下欲持是安归乎？夫势在人臣之位而有震主之威，名高天下，窃为足下危之。”韩信谢曰：“先生且休矣，吾将念之。”

后数日，蒯通复说曰：“夫听者事之候也，计者事之机也，听过计失而能久安者，鲜矣。听不失一二者，不可乱以言；计不失本末者，不可纷以辞。夫随厮养之役者，失万乘之权；守儋石之禄者，阙卿相

【今译】

赐。请让我说一说大王的功绩和谋略吧：您横渡西河，俘虏魏王，生擒夏说，带领军队夺取井陉，杀死成安君，攻占了赵国，以声威镇服燕国，平定安抚齐国，向南摧毁楚国军队二十万，向东杀死楚将龙且，西面向汉王传捷报，这可以说是功劳天下无二，而计谋出众，世上少有。如今您据有威胁君主的威势，持有不能封赏的功绩，归附楚国，楚国人不信任；归附汉国，汉国人震惊恐惧。您带着这样大的功绩和声威，哪里是您可去的地方呢？身处臣子的位置却有着撼动国君的威胁，名望高于天下所有的人，我私下为您感到危险。”韩信推辞说：“先生暂且说到这儿吧，让我考虑考虑。”

此后过了数日，蒯通又对韩信说：“听取别人的善意，就能预见事情发展变化的征兆，反复思考，就能把握成功的关键，听取意见不能作出正确的判断，决策失误而能够长治久安的人，实在少有。听取意见很少判断失误的人，就不能用花言巧语去惑乱他；计谋筹划周到不本末倒置的人，就不能用花言巧语去扰乱他。甘愿做杂事劳役的人，就会失掉争取万乘之国权力的机会；安心微薄俸禄的人，就得不到公

world, and shown a cunning unmatched in generations. Now that you wield power enough to make a sovereign tremble and have won more merit that can be rewarded, should you choose to follow Chu, the men of Chu would never trust you, and should you follow Han, the men of Han would quake with fear. With gifts such as these, whom should you follow? Your position is that of a subject, and yet you possess power enough to make a sovereign tremble and a name which resounds throughout the world. This is why I consider that you are in danger!" Han Xin thanked him and said, "Stop a while, I beg you. I will think over what you have said."

After several days Kuai Tong began to lecture him again. "Listening to advice is the basis of an undertaking, and planning is the key to success. Where there is bad listening or faulty planning, the undertaking seldom prospers for long. But if one listens with a sense of logic, he will not be confused by mere words; if he plans with a sense of relative importance, he cannot be distracted by mere talk. One who contents himself with the labors of menial will never wield the power of a great lord; one who clings to a post that pays only a bushel or two of grain will never occupy the position of prime minister. "Therefore to be wise is to be resolute in decision, but to doubt is to destroy one's undertaking. The petty schemes which take account of every detail miss the greater destinies of the world. To be wise only in knowledge but lack the resoluteness to act is to meet disaster in every undertaking. Thus it is said, 'Better a wasp bent on stinging than a hesitant tiger; better an old nag plodding safely along than a hobbling thoroughbred; better a common man determined to act than the bravest hero vacillating! You may be as wise as Shun and Yu, but if you

【原文】

之位。故知者决之断也，疑者事之害也，审毫厘之小计，遗天下之大数，智诚知之，决弗敢行者，百事之祸也。故曰‘猛虎之犹豫，不若蜂虿之致螫；骐骥之跼躅，不如驽马之安步；孟贲之狐疑，不如庸夫之必至也；虽有舜禹之智，吟而不言，不如喑聋之指麾也’。此言贵能行之。夫功者难成而易败，时者难得而易失也。时乎时，不再来。愿足下详察之。”韩信犹豫不忍倍汉，又自以为功多，汉终不夺我齐，遂谢蒯通。蒯通说不听，已详狂为巫。

汉王之困固陵，用张良计，召齐王信，遂将兵会垓下。项羽已破，高祖袭夺齐王军。汉五年正月，徙齐王信为楚王，都下邳。

【今译】

卿宰相的高位。所以办事坚决是聪明人果断的表现，犹豫不决是办事情的祸害，专在微小的事情上用心思，就会丢掉天下的大事，有判断是非的智慧，决定后又不敢贸然行动，这是所有事情的祸根。所以俗话说‘猛虎犹豫不能决断，不如黄蜂、蝎子用毒刺去螫；骏马徘徊不前，不如劣马缓步徐行；勇士孟贲狐疑不定，不如平庸的人必定要达到目的；即使有虞舜、夏禹的智慧，闭上嘴巴不讲话，不如聋哑人借助打手势示意’。这些俗语都说明付诸行动是最可宝贵的。所有的事业都难以成功而容易失败，时机难以抓住而容易失掉。时机啊时机，丢掉了就不会再来。希望您仔细地考虑斟酌。”韩信犹豫不决不忍心背叛汉王，又自认为功勋卓著，汉王终究不会夺去自己的齐国，于是谢绝了蒯通。蒯通的规劝没有被采纳，就假装疯癫做了巫师。

汉王被围困在固陵时，采用了张良的计策，征召齐王韩信，于是韩信率领军队在垓下与汉王会师。项羽被打败后，高祖趁齐王韩信不备夺取了他的军权。汉五年正月，改封齐王韩信为楚王，建都下邳。

mumble and do not speak out, you are less use than a deaf mute making gestures!' These sayings prove the worth of being able to act. Merit is difficult to achieve and easy to lose. The right time is hard to find and easy to let slip. The time, my lord, the time! It will not come twice! I beg you to consider carefully!" But Han Xin hesitated and could not bear to turn against Han. Also he considered that he had won such merit that the king of Han would never take Qi away from him. So in the end he refused Kuai Tong's advice. When Kuai Tong realized that his advice would not be followed, he desisted and, feigning madness, became a shaman.

The king of Han was in considerable difficulty at Guling but, employing a scheme suggested by Zhang Liang, he summoned Han Xin, the king of Qi, who led his army to join the Han forces at Gaixia. After Xiang Yu had been defeated, the king of Han, now emperor, surprised Han Xin and seized his army. In the first month of the fifth year of Han the emperor moved Han Xin from Qi to the position of king of Chu with his capital at Xiapei.

【原文】

信至国，召所从食漂母，赐千金。及下乡南昌亭长，赐百钱，曰："公，小人也，为德不卒。"召辱己之少年令出袴下者，以为楚中尉。告诸将相曰："此壮士也。方辱我时，我宁不能杀之邪？杀之无名，故忍而就于此。"

项王亡将钟离眜家在伊庐，素与信善。项王死后，亡归信。汉王怨眜，闻其在楚，诏楚捕眜。信初之国，行县邑，陈兵出入。汉六年，人有上书告楚王信反。高帝以陈平计，天子巡狩会诸侯，南方有云梦，发使告诸侯会陈："吾将游云梦。"实欲袭信，信弗知。高祖且至楚，信欲发兵反，自度无罪，欲谒上，恐见禽。人或说信曰："斩眜谒上，上必喜，无患。"信见眜计事。眜曰："汉所以不击取楚，以眜在公所。若欲捕我以自媚于汉，吾今日死，公亦随手亡矣。"乃骂信曰："公非

【今译】

韩信到了下邳，召见曾经分给他饭吃的那位漂母，赐给她黄金千斤。轮到下乡南昌亭亭长，赐给百钱，说："您，是小人，做好事有始无终。"召见曾经侮辱过自己、让自己从他胯下爬过去的年轻人，任用他做了中尉。并告诉将相们说"这是位壮士。当他侮辱我的时候，我难道不能杀死他吗？杀掉他没有意义，所以我忍受了一时的侮辱而成就了今天的功业。"

项王部下逃亡的将领钟离眜家住伊庐，一向与韩信要好。项王死后，他逃出来归附韩信。汉王怨恨钟离眜，听说他在楚国，诏令楚国逮捕钟离眜。韩信初到楚国，巡行所属县邑，进进出出都带着武装卫队。汉六年，有人上书告发楚王韩信谋反。高帝采纳陈平的计谋，假托天子外出巡视会见诸侯，南方有个云梦泽，派使臣通告各诸侯到陈县聚集："我要巡视云梦泽。"其实是要袭击韩信，韩信却不知道。高祖将要到楚国时，韩信曾想发兵反叛，又认为自己没有罪，想朝见高祖，又怕被擒。有人对韩信说："杀了钟离眜去朝见皇上，皇上一定高兴，那就没有祸患了。"韩信去见钟离眜商量。钟离眜说："汉王所以不攻打夺取楚国，是因为我在您这里。你想逮捕我取悦汉王，我今天死，

When Han Xin reached his state he summoned the old washerwoman who had given him food long ago and presented her with 1,000 catties of gold. To the village head of Nanchang in Xia he gave 100 cash, remarking, "You are a small-minded man! When you do favors for people, you are not willing to see them through to the end!" Then he sent for the young man who had humiliated him and made him crawl between his legs, and made him a military commander. "He is a brave man," Han Xin told his generals and ministers. "At the time when he humiliated me, I could of course have killed him. But killing him could have won me no fame. So I put up with it and got where I am today."

Zhongli Mo, a fugitive general of Xiang Yu whose home was at Yilu, had long been a friend of Han Xin, after the death of Xiang Yu, he fled to join Han Xin. The king of Han hated Zhongli Mo, and hearing that he was in Chu, he made a tour of the various district towns, leading his soldiers in formation here and there about the state. In the sixth year of Han someone sent a report to the emperor stating that Han Xin, king of Chu, was about to revolt. Gaozu, at the suggestion of Chen Ping, decided to make an imperial tour and summon a meeting of the nobles. In the south there is a lake called Yunmeng, and so the emperor dispatched envoys to the nobles saying, "Meet me at Chen, since I am going to visit Yunmeng." His real intention was to make a surprise attack on Han Xin, though Han Xin was unaware of this. With the emperor about to arrive in Chu, Han Xin began to consider whether he should not dispatch his troops in revolt but, since he believed himself guilty of no crime, he decided to visit the emperor. He was afraid of being taken prisoner, however. Someone advised him, saying, "If you execute Zhongli Mo before you go to visit the emperor, His Majesty is sure to be pleased and there will be no trouble." Han Xin went to see Zhongli Mo to discuss what he ought to do. "The only reason the Han forces do not attack and take Chu away from you is that I am with you!" said Zhongli Mo. "Now if you wish to seize me in order to ingratiate yourself with the emperor, I am prepared to die today, but you yourself will follow close behind!" Then he cursed Han Xin, saying, "You are no man of honor!" and in the end cut his own throat. Han Xin, bearing Zhongli Mo's head, went to

【原文】

长者！”卒自刭。信持其首，谒高祖于陈。上令武士缚信，载后车。信曰：“果若人言，‘狡兔死，良狗亨；高鸟尽，良弓藏；敌国破，谋臣亡。’天下已定，我固当亨！”上曰：“人告公反。”遂械系信。至雒阳，赦信罪，以为淮阴侯。

信知汉王畏恶其能，常称病不朝从。信由此日夜怨望，居常鞅鞅，羞与绛、灌等列。信尝过樊将军哙，哙跪拜送迎，言称臣，曰：“大王乃肯临臣！”信出门，笑曰：“生乃与哙等为伍！”上常从容与信言诸将能不，各有差。上问曰：“如我能将几何？”信曰：“陛下不过能将十万。”上曰：“于君何如？”曰：“臣多多而益善耳。”上笑曰：“多多益善，何为为我禽？”信曰：“陛下不能将兵，而善将将，此乃

【今译】

你也会紧跟着死的。”于是骂韩信说：“你不是个忠厚的人！”终于刎颈身死。韩信拿着他的人头，到陈郡朝拜高祖。皇上命令武士绑了韩信，押在随行的车上。韩信说：“果真像人们说的，‘狡兔死了，出色的猎狗就遭到烹杀；高翔的飞禽打光了，优良的弓箭就被收藏起来；敌国被攻破了，谋臣就要死了’。现在天下已经平安，我本来应当遭烹杀！”皇上说：“有人告发你谋反。”就给韩信带上了刑具。到了洛阳，赦免了韩信的罪过，改封为淮阴侯。

韩信知道汉王畏忌自己的才能，常常托病不参加朝见和侍行。从此韩信日夜怨恨，在家闷闷不乐，为和绛侯、灌婴处于同等地位而感到羞耻。韩信曾经拜访樊哙将军，樊哙跪拜送迎，自称臣子，说：“大王怎么竟肯光临！”韩信出门，笑着说：“我这辈子竟然和樊哙这般人为伍了！”皇上曾经从容地和韩信议论将军们的高下，认为各有长短。皇上问韩信：“像我的才能能统率多少兵马？”韩信说：“陛下不过能统率十万兵马。”皇上说：“你怎么样？”回答说：“我是越多越好。”皇上笑着说：“你越多越好，为什么还被我俘虏了？”韩信说：“陛下不能带兵，却善于驾驭将领，这就是我被陛下俘虏的原因。

visit Gaozu at Chen. The emperor ordered his guards to bind Han Xin and place him in one of the rear carriages. "It is just as men say," sighed Han Xin. "When the cunning hares are dead, the good dog is boiled; when the soaring birds are gone, men put away the good bow; when the enemy states have been defeated, the ministers who plotted their downfall are doomed. The world is now at peace, and so it is fitting that I be boiled!" "Someone told me that you were about to revolt," said the emperor, and had Han Xin put into fetters, but when they reached Luoyang he absolved him of guilt and made him marquis of Huaiyin.

Han Xin, knowing that the emperor feared and hated his ability, always pleaded illness and failed to attend court or join the imperial processions. He brooded day and night on his discontent and was ashamed to be ranked equal with Zhou Bo and Guan Ying. Once, when he visited General Fan Kuai, Fan Kuai knelt in deep respect to greet him and see him off and, employing terms of the greatest humility, said, "Your Highness has condescended to look upon his servant." "I am still alive," laughed Han Xin as he went out the gate, "but I am now the same rank as you and the rest!" The emperor was once casually discussing with Han Xin the relative abilities of his generals and ranking them in order. "About how many soldiers could a person like myself command?" asked the emperor. "Your Majesty would not exceed the 100,000 class," replied Han Xin. "And what about yourself?" "As for me, the more the better!" "If the more the better," laughed the emperor, "how is it that you became my prisoner?" "Your Majesty cannot command soldiers," replied Han Xin, "but you are good at

【原文】

信之所以为陛下禽也。且陛下所谓天授，非人力也。”

陈豨拜为钜鹿守，辞于淮阴侯。淮阴侯挈其手，辟左右与之步于庭，仰天叹曰：“子可与言乎？欲与子有言也。”豨曰：“唯将军令之。”淮阴侯曰：“公所居，天下精兵处也；而公，陛下之信幸臣也。人言公之畔，陛下必不信；再至，陛下乃疑矣；三至，必怒而自将。吾为公从中起，天下可图也。”陈豨素知其能也，信之，曰：“谨奉教！”汉十一年，陈豨果反。上自将而往，信病不从。阴使人至豨所，曰：“弟举兵，吾从此助公。”信乃谋与家臣夜诈诏赦诸官徒奴，欲发以袭吕后、太子。部署已定，待豨报。其舍人得罪于信，信囚，欲杀之。舍人弟上变，告信欲反状于吕后。吕后欲召，恐其党不就，乃与萧相国

【今译】

况且陛下是上天赐予的，不是人力能做到的。”

陈豨被任命为钜鹿郡守，向淮阴侯辞行。淮阴侯拉着他的手，避开左右侍从和他在庭院里漫步，仰望苍天叹息说：“可以和你说说话吗？有些心里话想跟你谈谈。”陈豨说：“一切听任将军吩咐。”淮阴侯说：“你管辖的地区，是天下精兵聚集的地方；而你，是陛下信任宠幸的臣子。如果有人告发说你谋反，陛下一定不会相信；再次告发，陛下就怀疑了；三次告发，陛下必然大怒而亲自率兵前来围剿。我为你在京城做内应，天下就可以取得了。”陈豨一向知道韩信的雄才大略，深信不疑，说：“我一定听从您的指教！”汉十一年，陈豨果然造反了。皇上亲自率领兵马前往，韩信托病没有随从。暗中派人到陈豨处说：“你只管发兵，我在这里协助你。”韩信就和家臣商量夜里假传诏书赦免各官府服役的罪犯和奴隶，打算发动他们去袭击吕后和太子。部署完毕，等待着陈豨的消息。有位家臣得罪了韩信，韩信把他囚禁起来，打算杀掉他。家臣的弟弟上书告变，向吕后告发了韩信准备造反的情况。吕后打算把韩信召来，又怕他不肯就范，就和萧相国谋划，令人假说从皇上那儿来，说陈豨已被俘获处死，列侯群臣都来祝贺。

commanding generals. That is why I became your prisoner. Moreover you are one of those who are 'chosen of Heaven.' Your power is not human!"

When Chen Xi was appointed governor of Julu, he went to take his leave of Han Xin. Han Xin grasped his hand and, dismissing his attendants, walked with him into the courtyard. Gazing up at the sky and sighing, he said, "I wonder if you are the sort I can talk with....I have something I would like to say to you." "You have only to mention it," replied Chen Xi. "The place where you live has the finest troops in the empire. And you, of course, are a trusted and favored minister of the emperor. If someone were to report that you were about to revolt, the emperor would certainly not believe it. If it were reported a second time, the emperor might begin to doubt, and if a third time he would surely become angry and lead an expedition in person. In that case I might contrive to raise an army for you and we could scheme for the empire!" Chen Xi had long known of Han Xin's ability and trusted him. "I shall honor your instructions with the greatest care!" replied Chen Xi. In the tenth year of Han, Chen Xi did in fact revolt. The emperor marched against him in person, but Han Xin, ill as usual, did not join the expedition. He sent a man in secret to the place where Chen Xi was, saying, "Just raise your troops! I will help you from here." Han Xin then plotted with his ministers and in the middle of the night forged an edict pardoning all the convict laborers attached to the government offices, intending to dispatch them in an attack on Empress Lü and the heir apparent. After he had assigned them their various places he waited for a report from Chen Xi. It happened that one of Han Xin's retainers had committed some fault against Han Xin, who had him imprisoned and was about to execute him. The retainer's younger brother reported Han Xin's disaffection to the capital, sending a letter to inform Empress Lü that he was planning to revolt. The empress thought of summoning him, but she was afraid that he would not come, so together with Xiao He, the prime minister, she devised a scheme whereby they had a man pretend to come from the emperor with news that Chen Xi had already been captured and killed. When the nobles

【原文】

谋，诈令人从上所来，言豨已得死，列侯群臣皆贺。相国绐信曰："虽疾，强入贺。"信入，吕后使武士缚信，斩之长乐钟室。信方斩，曰："吾悔不用蒯通之计，乃为儿女子所诈，岂非天哉！"遂夷信三族。

高祖已从豨军来，至，见信死，且喜且怜之，问："信死亦何言？"吕后曰："信言恨不用蒯通计。"高祖曰："是齐辩士也。"乃诏齐捕蒯通。蒯通至，上曰："若教淮阴侯反乎？"对曰："然，臣固教之。竖子不用臣之策，故令自夷于此。如彼竖子用臣之计，陛下安得而夷之乎？"上怒曰："亨之。"通曰："嗟乎，冤哉亨也！"上曰："若教韩信反，何冤？"对曰："秦之纲绝而维弛，山东大扰，异姓并起，英俊乌集。秦失其鹿，天下共逐之，于是高材疾足者先得焉。跖之狗吠尧，尧非不仁，狗因吠非其主。当是时，臣唯独知韩信，非知陛下也。

【今译】

萧相国欺骗韩信说："即使有病，也要强打精神进宫祝贺吧。"韩信进宫后，吕后命令武士把韩信捆起来，在长乐宫的钟室杀掉了。韩信临斩时说："我后悔没有采纳蒯通的计谋，以至被妇孺之辈所欺骗，难道不是天意吗！"于是诛杀了韩信三族。

高祖从平叛陈豨的军中回到京城，见韩信已死，又高兴又怜悯他，问："韩信临死时说过什么话？"吕后说："韩信说悔恨没有采纳蒯通的计谋。"高祖说："那人是齐国的说客。"就诏令齐国捉拿蒯通。蒯通被带到，皇上说："你唆使淮阴侯反叛吗？"回答说："是。我的确教过他。那小子不采纳我的计策，所以有现在自取灭亡的下场。假如那小子采纳我的计策，陛下怎能够灭掉他呢？"皇上生气地说："煮了他。"蒯通说："哎呀，煮死我，冤枉啊！"皇上说："你唆使韩信造反，有什么冤枉？"蒯通说："秦朝法度败坏，政权瓦解的时候，崤山以东六国大乱，各路诸侯纷纷起事，一时天下英雄豪杰像乌鸦一样聚集。秦朝失去了他的帝位，天下英杰都来抢夺它，于是才智高超、行动敏捷的人率先得到它。跖的狗对着尧狂叫，并不是尧不仁德，只

and ministers all appeared to offer their congratulations Xiao He sent word to trick Han Xin, saying, "Although you are ill, you must make an effort to come to the capital and present your congratulations." Han Xin came. Empress Lü ordered the guards to bind Han Xin and execute him in the bell-room of the Palace of Lasting Joy. When he was about to be beheaded, he said, "To my regret I did not listen to Kuai Tong's scheme. And now I have been tricked by this woman and her lackey! Is it not fate?" Han Xin's family, to the third degree of kinship, was exterminated.

Gaozu had completed his campaign against Chen Xi's army and returned to the capital when he learned of Han Xin's death. He was both pleased and saddened by the news, and asked whether Han Xin had said anything before he died. "He said he regretted not having listened to the scheme of Kuai Tong," said Empress Lü. "He is a rhetorician of Qi," said Gaozu and sent an order to Qi to have Kuai Tong arrested. When Kuai Tong was brought before him, the emperor asked, "Did you advise Han Xin to revolt?" "I did," he replied. "I advised him most strongly. But the idiot did not listen to my scheme and so brought destruction upon himself and his family. Idiot though he was, if he had used my plan, how would Your Majesty ever have been able to destroy him?" "Boil him alive!" ordered the emperor in a rage. "But, Your Majesty, how unjust! To have me boiled...!" cried Kuai Tong. "You advised Han Xin to revolt! What do you mean, unjust?" "The web of Qin's government had rotted away and the strands of its rule grew slack. East of the mountains all was in chaos, as men of the other clans raised their armies and brave men flocked about them. The empire slipped from the house of Qin like a fleeing deer and all the world joined in its pursuit. As it happened, he with the tallest stature and the swiftest feet seized it first. Now the bandit Zhi's dog would bark even at a sage like Yao, but that is not because Yao is evil, but because it is a dog's nature to bark at anyone

【原文】

且天下锐精持锋欲为陛下所为者甚众，顾力不能耳。又可尽亨之邪？”高帝曰：“置之。”乃释通之罪。

太史公曰：吾如淮阴，淮阴人为余言，韩信虽为布衣时，其志与众异。其母死，贫无以葬，然乃行营高敞地，令其旁可置万家。余视其母冢，良然。假令韩信学道谦让，不伐己功，不矜其能，则庶几哉，于汉家勋可以比周、召、太公之徒，后世血食矣。不务出此，而天下已集，乃谋畔逆，夷灭宗族，不亦宜乎！

【今译】

因为他不是狗的主人。在那个时候，我只知道有个韩信，并不知道有陛下。况且天下磨快武器、手执利刃想干陛下所干的事业的人太多了，只是力不从心罢了。您怎么能够把他们都煮死呢？”高祖说：“放了他。”就赦免了蒯通的罪过。

太史公说：我到淮阴，淮阴人对我说，韩信即使是平民百姓时，他的心志也与众不同。他母亲死了，家中贫困没有能力埋葬，可他还是到处寻找又高又宽敞的坟地，让坟墓旁可以安置万户人家。我看了他母亲的坟墓，的确如此。假使韩信能够谦恭退让，不夸耀自己的功劳，不自恃自己的才能，那就差不多了，他在汉朝的功勋可以和周朝的周公、召公、太公这些人相比，后世子孙就可以享祭不绝。可是他没能致力于这样做，而天下已经安定，反而图谋叛乱，被诛灭宗族，不也是应该的吗！

who is not his master. At that time I knew only Han Xin. I did not know Your Majesty. There are countless men in the empire who plucked up their spirits and seized their swords in hopes of doing what you did. It is only that their strength was not equal to the task. And do you think you can boil all of them alive as well?" "Free him!" said the emperor, and he absolved Kuai Tong of his guilt.

The Grand Historian remarks: When I visited Huaiyin one of the men of the place told me that even when Han Xin was still a commoner his ambitions were different from those of ordinary men. At the time of his mother's death he was so poor that he could not give her a proper burial, and yet he had her buried on a high, broad expanse of earth with room enough around to set up 10,000 households,[3] this man said. I went to visit Han Xin's mother's grave, and it was quite true. If Han Xin had given thought to the Way and been more humble instead of boasting of his achievements and priding himself on his own ability, how fine a man he might have been! For his services to the house of Han he might have ranked with the dukes of Zhou and Shao and Grand Duke Wang of old, and for ages after have enjoyed the blood and flesh of sacrifices. Yet he did not strive for such things but, when the world was already gathered under one rule, plotted treason instead. Was it not right that he and his family should be wiped out?

(*Translated by Burton Watson*)

李陵

答苏武书

【原文】

子卿足下：勤宣令德，策名清时，荣问休畅，幸甚幸甚！远托异国，昔人所悲，望风怀想，能不依依！昔者不遗，远辱还答，慰诲勤勤，有逾骨肉。陵虽不敏，能不慨然！

自从初降，以至今日，身之穷困，独坐愁苦，终日无睹，但见异类。韦鞲毳幕，以御风雨。羶肉酪浆，以充饥渴。举目言笑，谁与为欢？胡地玄冰，边土惨裂，但闻悲风萧条之声。凉秋九月，塞外草衰。夜不能寐，侧耳远听，胡笳互动，牧马悲鸣，吟啸成群，边声四起。晨坐听之，不觉泪下。嗟乎，子卿！陵独何心，能不悲哉！与子别后，

【今译】

子卿足下：您辛勤地宣扬美德，为官于太平盛世，美名流传四方，真是值得庆幸啊！我流落在远方匈奴，这是前人所悲的，怀念故人风采，怎能不恋恋不舍啊！以前承蒙您不弃，从远处赐给我回音，殷勤地安慰教诲，超过了骨肉之情。我虽然愚钝，又怎能不感慨万分！

从我投降之初，直到现在，身处艰难困境，一人独坐，愁闷苦恼，整天看不见别的，只见到些异族之人。皮袖套和毛毡做的帐篷，用来抵御风雨。腥膻的肉和乳浆，用来充饥解渴。放眼四周，能和谁一起谈笑欢乐呢？胡地结着厚厚的坚冰，边塞上的土被冻得裂开，只听见悲惨凄凉的风声。深秋九月，塞外草木凋零。夜晚无法入睡，侧耳倾听，胡笳声此起彼伏，牧马悲哀地嘶叫，乐曲声和嘶鸣声相混，在边塞的四面响起。清晨坐起来听着这些声音，不知不觉地流下泪水。唉，子卿啊！我难道是铁石心肠，能不悲伤！同您分别以后，更加无聊。上

A Reply

O Tzŭ-ch'ing,[1] O my friend, happy in the enjoyment of a glorious reputation, happy in the prospect of an imperishable name—there is no misery like exile in a far-off foreign land, the heart brimful of longing thoughts of home! I have thy kindly letter, bidding me be of good cheer, kinder than a brother's words; for which my soul thanks thee.

Ever since the hour of my surrender until now, destitute of all resource, I have sat alone with the bitterness of my grief. All day long I see none but barbarians around me. Skins and felt protect me from wind and rain. With mutton and whey I satisfy my hunger and slake my thirst. Companions with whom to while time away, I have none. The whole country is stiff with black ice. I hear nought but the moaning of the bitter autumn blast, beneath which all vegetation has disappeared. I cannot sleep at night. I turn and listen to the distant sound of Tartar pipes, to the whinnying of Tartar steeds. In the morning I sit up and listen still, while tears course down my cheeks. O Tzŭ-ch'ing, of what stuff am I, that should do aught but grieve? The day of thy departure left me disconsolate indeed. I thought of my aged mother butchered upon the threshold of the grave. I thought of my innocent wife and child, condemned to the same cruel fate. Deserving as I might have been of Imperial censure, I am now an object of pity to all.

【原文】

益复无聊。上念老母，临年被戮；妻子无辜，并为鲸鲵。身负国恩，为世所悲。子归受荣，我留受辱，命也如何！身出礼义之乡，而入无知之俗，违弃君亲之恩，长为蛮夷之域，伤已！令先君之嗣，更成戎狄之族，又自悲矣！功大罪小，不蒙明察，孤负陵心，区区之意，每一念至，忽然忘生。陵不难刺心以自明，刎颈以见志，顾国家于我已矣。杀身无益，适足增羞，故每攘臂忍辱，辄复苟活。左右之人，见陵如此，以为不入耳之欢，来相劝勉。异方之乐，只令人悲，增忉怛耳。嗟乎，子卿！人之相知，贵相知心。前书仓卒，未尽所怀，故复略而言之：

昔先帝授陵步卒五千，出征绝域，五将失道，陵独遇战，而裹

【今译】

念老母，在垂暮之年还被杀害；妻子、儿女们是无罪的，也受牵连惨遭诛戮。我自己辜负了国家之恩，被世人所悲怜。您回国后享受荣誉，我留此地蒙受羞辱，这是命中注定，有什么办法！我出身于讲究礼义的国家，却进入对礼义茫然无知的社会，背弃了国君和双亲的恩德，终身居住在蛮夷的区域，真是伤心极了！让先祖的后代，变成了戎狄的族人，自己怎能不感到悲痛！我在与匈奴作战中功大罪小，却没有人来明察，辜负了我微小的诚意，每当想到这里，恍惚之中仿佛失去了对生存的留恋。我刺心来表白自己，自刎来显示志向倒是不难，但国家对我已经恩断义绝。自杀毫无益处，只会增加羞辱，因此常常愤慨地忍受侮辱，就又苟且地活在世上。周围的人见我这样，用不中听的话来劝告勉励。异国的快乐，只能令人悲伤，增加忧愁罢了。唉，子卿啊！人们之间的相互了解，贵在相互知心。前一封信写得匆忙，没有能够充分表达我的心情，所以再作简略叙述：

从前先帝授予我步兵五千，出征远方，五员将领迷失道路，我单独与匈奴军遭遇作战，携带着供征战万里的粮草，率领着徒步行军的

Thy return was to honor and renown, while I remained behind with infamy and disgrace. Such is the divergence of man's destiny. Born within the domain of refinement and justice, I passed into an environment of vulgar ignorance. I left behind me obligations to sovereign and family for life amid barbarian hordes; and now barbarian children will carry on the line of my forefathers.[2] And yet my merit was great, my guilt of small account. I had no fair hearing; and when I pause to think of these things, I ask to what end I have lived. With a thrust I could have cleared myself of all blame: my severed throat would have borne witness to my resolution; and between me and my country all would have been over for aye. But to kill myself would have been of no avail: I should only have added to my shame. I therefore steeled myself to obloquy and to life. There were not wanting those who mistook my attitude for compliance, and urged me to a nobler course; ignorant that the joys of a foreign land are sources only of a keener grief. O Tzŭ-ch'ing, O my friend, I will complete the half-told record of my former tale.

His late Majesty commissioned me, with five thousand infantry under my command, to carry on operations in a distant country. Five brother generals missed their way; I alone reached the theater of war. With rations for a long march, leading on my men, I passed beyond the limits of the Celestial Land, and entered the territory of the fierce Huns. With five thousand men

【原文】

万里之粮，帅徒步之师，出天汉之外，入强胡之域。以五千之众，对十万之军，策疲乏之兵，当新羁之马。然犹斩将搴旗，追奔逐北，灭迹扫尘，斩其枭帅。使三军之士，视死如归。陵也不才，希当大任，意谓此时，功难堪矣。匈奴既败，举国兴师，更练精兵，强逾十万。单于临阵，亲自合围。客主之形，既不相如；步马之势，又甚悬绝。疲兵再战，一以当千，然犹扶乘创痛，决命争首，死伤积野，余不满百，而皆扶病，不任干戈。然陵振臂一呼，创病皆起，举刃指虏，胡马奔走；兵尽矢穷，人无尺铁，犹复徒首奋呼争为先登。当此时也，天地为陵震怒，战士为陵饮血。单于谓陵不可复得，便欲引还。而贼臣教之，遂便复战。故陵不免耳。

【今译】

部队，出了国境之外，进入强胡的疆土。以五千士兵，对付十万敌军，指挥疲惫不堪的队伍，抵挡养精蓄锐的骑兵。但是依然斩敌将拔敌旗，追逐败逃之敌，在肃清残敌时，斩杀其骁勇的将领。使我全军将士，都能视死如归。我没有什么才能，很少担当重任，内心以为此时的战功，是其他情况下所难以相比的了。匈奴兵败后，全国上下共同举兵，又挑选出十万多精兵。单于亲临阵前，亲自指挥对我军的包围。我军与敌军的形势已不相称；步兵与骑兵的力量更加悬殊。疲惫的士兵再战，一人要敌千人，但仍然带伤忍痛，奋勇争先，阵亡与受伤的士兵遍地都是，身边剩下的不足百人，而且都伤痕累累，无法持稳兵器。但是我只要振臂一呼，重伤和轻伤的士兵都一跃而起，拿起兵器杀向敌人，迫使敌骑逃奔；兵器耗尽，箭也射完了，手无寸铁，身无甲胄，还是拼命高呼杀敌争着冲上前去。在这时刻，天地好像为我震怒，战士奋力为我拼杀。单于认为不可能再俘获我，便打算引军班师。不料叛逃的贼臣出卖军情，于是使得单于对我重新开战。我终于未能免于失败。

I stood opposed to a hundred thousand: mine jaded foot soldiers, theirs horsemen fresh from the stable. Yet we slew their leaders, and captured their standards, and drove them back in confusion towards the north. We obliterated their very traces; we swept them away like dust; we beheaded their general. A martial spirit spread abroad among my men. With them, to die in battle was to return to their homes; while I—I venture to think that I had already accomplished something. This victory was speedily followed by a general rising of the Huns. New levies were trained to the use of arms, and at length another hundred thousand barbarians were arrayed against me. The Hun chieftain himself appeared, and with his army surrounded my little band, so unequal in strength—foot-soldiers opposed to horse. Still my tired veterans fought, each man worth a thousand of the foe, as, covered with wounds, one and all struggled bravely to the fore. The plain was strewed with the dying and the dead; barely a hundred men were left, and these too weak to hold a spear and shield. Yet, when I waved my hand and shouted to them, the sick and wounded arose. Brandishing their blades, and pointing towards the foe, they dismissed the Tartar cavalry like a rabble rout. And even when their arms were gone, their arrows spent, without a foot of steel in their hands, they still rushed, yelling, onward, each eager to lead the way. The very heavens and the earth seemed to gather round me, while my warriors drank tears of blood. Then the Hunnish chieftain, thinking that we should not yield, would have drawn off his forces. But a false traitor told him all; the battle was renewed, and we were lost.

The Emperor Kao Ti, with 300,000 men at his back, was shut up in P'ing-ch'êng. Generals he had, like clouds; counselors, like drops of rain. Yet he

【原文】

昔高皇帝以三十万众，困于平城，当此之时，猛将如云，谋臣如雨，然犹七日不食，仅乃得免。况当陵者，岂易为力哉？而执事者云云，苟怨陵以不死。然陵不死，罪也；子卿视陵，岂偷生之士，而惜死之人哉？宁有背君亲，捐妻子，而反为利者乎？然陵不死，有所为也，故欲如前书之言，报恩于国主耳。诚以虚死不如立节，灭名不如报德也。昔范蠡不殉会稽之耻，曹沫不死三败之辱，卒复勾践之雠，报鲁国之羞。区区之心，窃慕此耳。何图志未立而怨已成，计未从而骨肉受刑，此陵所以仰天椎心而泣血也！

足下又云：汉与功臣不薄。子为汉臣，安得不云尔乎！昔萧、樊囚絷，韩、彭菹醢，晁错受戮，周、魏见辜，其余佐命立功之士，贾

【今译】

以前高皇帝率领三十万大军，被匈奴围困在平城，那时，军中猛将如云，有谋略的大臣如雨，然而还是七天断粮，只不过勉强脱身而已。何况像我这样的人，难道就容易有所作为吗？而当权者却议论纷纷，一味谴责我未能以死殉国。不过我未以死殉国，的确是罪过；但您看我难道是贪生怕死的小人吗？难道是背离君亲、抛弃妻儿却反而以为对自己有利的人吗？我之所以不死，是因为想有所作为，本来是想如前一封信上所说的那样，要向皇上报恩啊。实在是因为无谓而死不如树立名节，毁坏名节不如报答恩德。前代范蠡不因会稽山投降之耻而殉国，曹沫不因三战三败之辱而自杀，终于范蠡为越王勾践报了仇，曹沫为鲁国雪了耻。我赤诚的心意，就是暗自景仰他们的作为。哪里料到志向还没有实现怨责之声已四起，计划尚未实行而亲人已作刀下之鬼，这就是我面对苍天椎心泣血、悲痛万分的原因啊！

您又说道：汉朝给功臣的待遇并不菲薄。您是汉朝之臣，怎能不这样说啊！以前萧何、樊哙被拘捕囚禁，韩信、彭越被剁成肉酱，晁错被杀，周勃、魏其侯获罪，其余辅助汉室立下功劳的人士，如贾谊、

remained seven days without food, and then barely escaped with life. How much more then I, now blamed on all sides that I did not die? This was my crime. But, O Tzŭ-ch'ing, canst thou say that I would live from craven fear of death? Am I one to turn my back on my country and all those dear to me, allured by sordid thoughts of gain? It was not indeed without cause that I did not elect to die. I longed, as explained in my former letter, to prove my loyalty to my prince. Rather than die to no purpose, I chose to live and to establish my good name. It was better to achieve something than to perish. Of old, Fan Li did not slay himself after the battle of Kuei-chi; neither did Ts'ao Mo die after the ignominy of three defeats. Revenge came at last; and thus I too had hoped to prevail. Why then was I overtaken with punishment before the plan was matured? Why were my own flesh and blood condemned before the design could be carried out? It is for this that I raise my face to Heaven, and beating my breast, shed tears of blood.

O my friend, thou sayest that the house of Han never fails to reward a deserving servant. But thou art thyself a servant of the house, and it would ill beseem thee to say other words than these. Yet Hsiao and Fan were bound in chains; Han and P'êng were sliced to death. Ch'ao Ts'o was beheaded, Chou Po was disgraced, and Tou Ying paid the penalty with his life. Others too, great in their generation, have also succumbed to the intrigues of base men, and have been overwhelmed beneath a weight of shame from which they were unable to emerge. And now, the misfortunes

【原文】

谊、亚夫之徒，皆信命世之才，抱将相之具，而受小人之谗，并受祸败之辱，卒使怀才受谤，能不得展。彼二子之遐举，谁不为之痛心哉！陵先将军，功略盖天地，义勇冠三军，徒失贵臣之意，刭身绝域之表。此功臣义士所以负戟而长叹者也！何谓不薄哉？

且足下昔以单车之使，适万乘之虏，遭时不遇，至于伏剑不顾，流离辛苦，几死塞北之野。丁年奉使，皓首而归。老母终堂，生妻去帷。此天下所希闻，古今所未有也。蛮貊之人，尚犹嘉子之节，况为天下之主乎？陵谓足下，当享茅土之荐，受千乘之赏。闻子之归，赐不过二百万，位不过典属国，无尺土之封加子之勤。而妨功害能之臣尽为万户侯，亲戚贪佞之类悉为廊庙宰。子尚如此，陵复何望哉？

【今译】

周亚夫等人，都确实是当时杰出的人才，具备担任将相的能力，却遭受小人的诽谤，都受到了迫害、屈辱，最终使有才之人遭到诋毁，才能无法施展。他们二人的死，谁不为之痛心呢！我已故的祖父李广将军，其功绩谋略远超天下之人，忠义勇气居全军之首，只是因为不屑迎合当朝权贵的心意，结果在边远的疆场含恨自杀身亡。这就是功臣义士手持兵刃叹息不止的原因啊！怎么能说待遇不薄呢？

您过去凭着单车出使到拥有强兵的匈奴，逢上时运不佳，竟至伏剑自刎也不在乎，颠沛流离含辛茹苦，差点儿死在北方的荒野。壮年时奉命出使，满头白发而归。老母在家中亡故，年轻的妻子也改嫁离去。这是天下很少听到的，从古至今都没有的遭遇。异族未开化的人，尚且还称赞您的节气，何况是天下的君主呢？我认为您应当享受封领地、赏千乘的诸侯待遇。听说您回国后，赏赐不过二百万，封官不过典属国之职，并没有一尺土地的封赏来奖励您多年来对国家的效忠。而那些排斥功臣、扼杀人才的朝臣都成了万户侯，皇亲国戚或逢迎拍马之流，都成了朝廷政权的主宰。您尚且如此，我还有什么希望

of Fan Li and Ts'ao Mo command the sympathies of all. My grandfather filled heaven and earth with the fame of his exploits—the bravest of the brave. Yet, fearing the animosity of an Imperial favorite, he slew himself in a distant land, his death being followed by the secession, in disgust, of many a brother-hero. Can this be the reward of which thou speakest?

Thou too, O my friend, an envoy with a slender equipage, sent on that mission to the robber race, when fortune failed thee even to the last resource of the dagger. Then years of miserable captivity, all but ended by death among the wilds of the far north. Thou left us full of young life, to return a gray-beard; thy old mother dead, thy wife gone from thee to another. Seldom has the like of this been known. Even the savage barbarian respected thy loyal spirit; how much more the lord of all under the canopy of the sky? A many-acred barony should have been thine, the ruler of a thousand-charioted fief! Nevertheless, they tell me 'twas but two paltry millions, and the chancellorship of the Tributary States. Not a foot of soil repaid thee for the past, while some cringing courtier gets the marquisate of ten thousand families, and each greedy parasite of the Imperial house is gratified by the choicest offices of the State. If then thou farest thus, what could I expect? I have been heavily repaid for that I did not die. Thou hast been meanly rewarded for thy unswerving devotion to thy prince. This is barely that which should attract the absent servant back to his fatherland. And so it is that I do not now regret the past. Wanting though I may have been in my duty to the State, the State was wanting also in gratitude

【原文】

且汉厚诛陵以不死，薄赏子以守节，欲使远听之臣，望风驰命，此实难矣。所以每顾而不悔者也。陵虽孤恩，汉亦负德。昔人有言："虽忠不烈，视死如归。"陵诚能安，而主岂复能眷眷乎？男儿生以不成名，死则葬蛮夷中，谁复能屈身稽颡，还向北阙，使刀笔之吏，弄其文墨邪？愿足下勿复望陵。

嗟乎，子卿！夫复何言！相去万里，人绝路殊。生为别世之人，死为异域之鬼，长与足下生死辞矣！幸谢故人，勉事圣君。足下胤子无恙，勿以为念，努力自爱。时因北风，复惠德音。李陵顿首。

【今译】

呢？而且汉朝因为我未能死节而施以严厉的惩罚，您坚贞守节又只给予微薄的奖赏，要想叫远方的臣民瞻望并来投奔效命，这实在是难以办到的。所以我常常想到这事却不觉得后悔。我虽然辜负了汉朝的恩情，汉朝也愧对了我的功德。前人说过这样的话："虽然忠诚并不壮烈，也能做到视死如归。"但如果我能够视死如归，皇上难道就能对我有眷顾之情吗？男子汉活着不能成就英名，死了就让他埋葬在异族之中吧，谁还能再弯腰下拜，回到汉廷，听凭那帮刀笔小吏舞文弄墨、随意发落呢？希望您不必再盼着我归汉了。

唉，子卿啊！还有什么话可说！相隔万里之遥，人的身份不同，人生道路也迥然不同。活着时是另一世界的人，死后便成了异国的鬼魂，我和您永诀，生死都不得相见了！请代我向老朋友们致意，希望他们勤勉侍奉圣明的君主。您的公子很好，不要挂念，愿您努力爱护自己。更盼您时常托北风之便，不断给我来信。李陵叩首。

towards me. It was said of old, "A loyal subject, though not a hero, will rejoice to die for his country." I would die joyfully even now; but the stain of my prince's ingratitude can never be wiped away. Indeed, if the brave man is not to be allowed to achieve a name, but to die like a dog in a barbarian land, who will be found to crook the back and bow the knee before an Imperial throne, where the bitter pens of courtiers tell their lying tales? O my friend, look for me no more.

O Tzŭ-ch'ing, what shall I say? A thousand leagues lie between us, and separate us for ever. I shall live out my life as it were in another sphere; my spirit will find its home among a strange people. Accept my last adieu. Speak for me to my old acquaintances, and bid them serve their sovereign well. O my friend, be happy in the bosom of thy family, and think of me no more. Strive to take all care of thyself; and when time and opportunity are thine, write me once again in reply. Li Ling salutes thee!

(*Translated by Herbert A. Giles*)

王褒

洞箫赋

【原文】	【今译】
原夫箫干之所生兮，	用于制作洞箫箫管的竹子啊，
于江南之丘墟。	生长在江南的山陵之地。
洞条畅而罕节兮，	竹身通畅竹节稀疏啊，
标敷纷以扶疏。	竹枝茂盛、繁密。
徒观其旁山侧兮，	只看那竹子旁边的山峦啊，
则岖嵚岿崎，	山势险峻高高耸立，
倚巇迤巆，	高山峻岭曲折倾斜，
诚可悲乎其不安也！	竹子长在此处让人看了提心吊胆！
弥望傥莽，	远望广阔无垠的莽原，
联延旷荡，	连绵不绝空旷宽广，
又足乐乎其敞闲也。	又让人为竹子生长之处的宽阔清静而高兴。
托身躯于后土兮，	身躯扎根于大地啊，
经万载而不迁。	历经万年而不迁移。
吸至精之滋熙兮，	吸取万物之精华滋润啊，
禀苍色之润坚。	秉承苍山的润泽与坚实。
感阴阳之变化兮，	感受天地阴阳的变化啊，
附性命乎皇天。	生命精华依附于上天。
翔风萧萧而径其末兮，	祥瑞之风拂过竹梢啊，
回江流川而溉其山。	迂回流转的江水灌溉着大山。
扬素波而挥连珠兮，	水面涌起白色的浪花溅起一串串水珠啊，
声礚礚而澍渊。	水石相击灌入深渊。
朝露清泠而陨其侧兮，	清凉的晨露滴落在竹旁啊，

Rhapsody on the Panpipes

I

Trace the original site where panpipe bamboos grow:
And it is on a hilly waste south of the Yangtse.
Their hollow culms are straight and smooth, and sparsely noded;
Their tips, leafy and lush, luxuriantly spread.
Just behold the sides of the hills to which they cling!
Ruggedly rising, precipitously plunging,
They stand sheer and steep, continuously sloping:
Truly one may grieve at their instability!
But in full view one sees a vast expanse,
Stretching on and on, broad and boundless.
And one further rejoices at its open tranquility.

The trees entrust their bodies to Sovereign Earth,
For a myriad years they have remained unchanged.
They breathe in the rich luster of perfect essence,
Take in the moist firmness of verdurous hues.
Stirred by the changes of yin and yang,
They attach their lives to August Heaven.
Soaring breezes, soughing and sighing, blow through their branches;
Eddying rivers and coursing streams water their mountain.
Raising white ripples, spraying beads of water,

Roaring and raging, they pour into a deep chasm.
Morning dew, fresh and cool, falls by their sides;

【原文】

玉液浸润而承其根。
孤雌寡鹤，
娱优乎其下兮；
春禽群嬉，
翱翔乎其颠。
秋蜩不食，
抱朴而长吟兮；
玄猿悲啸，
搜索乎其间。
处幽隐而奥庰兮，
密漠泊以獭猭。
惟详察其素体兮，
宜清静而弗喧。
幸得谥为洞箫兮，
蒙圣主之渥恩。
可谓惠而不费兮，
因天性之自然。

【今译】

雨水渗入地下滋润着竹根。
失偶的雌鹤，
欢乐地在竹下悠然自得啊；
成群的春鸟嬉戏着，
在竹林上空盘旋。
秋蝉不食，
抱着竹枝长鸣啊；
黑猿凄戚长鸣，
在竹林中间穿梭。
身处幽静而隐蔽之地啊，
茂密繁盛，走兽穿梭其中。
只有仔细察看其形态啊，
适宜吹奏清静之曲而非喧闹的曲调。
幸而得名叫作洞箫啊，
是承蒙了圣王的厚恩。
可以说是给别人带来恩惠而无损自身啊，
因为天性使然。

【原文】

于是般匠施巧，
夔襄准法。
带以象牙，
掍其会合。
锼镂离洒，
绛唇错杂。
邻菌缭纠，
罗鳞捷猎。
胶致理比，

【今译】

于是鲁班和匠石两位匠人施展巧技，
夔和师襄两位音乐家定准音阶。
用象牙，
装饰在箫管的会合之处。
雕刻出花纹，
红色的箫孔错落有致。
竹纹缭绕相连，
如鱼鳞般长短参差。
精致细密，

Jade fluid, rich and moist, soaks their roots.
A solitary hen, a lone crane,
Joyfully frolic below them.
Spring birds, playing in flocks,
Soar at their tops.
Autumn cicadas, eating nothing,
Cling to their bark, chirring endlessly.
Black apes, howling sadly,
Seek and search within them.
They dwell in dark concealment, deeply secluded,
Thickly clustered, joined one to another.
Just carefully examine their pure form:
They seem fit for silence and not making sound.
Yet they were fortunate to be named "panpipe" material,
And receive the generous favor of a sage lord.
This can be called "being generous without great expense".
And also conforms to the natural essence of things.

II

And then, Ban and Jiang display their craft,
Kui and Xiang determine the scale.
It is banded with ivory,
Which melds the joints and seams.
It is carved into intricate patterns;
Red-lacquered "lips" are diversely disposed.
Closely joined, linked and laced together,
The pipes are arrayed like fish scales, long and short.
They are compactly combined in orderly rows,

【原文】	【今译】
挹抐擫擶。	吹奏出的声音合乎音律。
于是乃使夫性昧之宕冥，	于是让天生的盲人来吹奏，
生不睹天地之体势，	他们生下来就看不到天地的样子，
暗于白黑之貌形。	更分辨不出五颜六色。
愤伊郁而酷䣷，	忧愤郁结埋藏心底，
愍眸子之丧精。	哀怜失去光泽的眼眸。
寡所舒其思虑兮，	很少抒发他们的所思啊，
专发愤乎音声。	专注地用音乐发泄他们的愤懑。
故吻吮值夫宫商兮，	用口吹奏出乐曲啊，
和纷离其匹溢。	美妙的声音向四周发散。
形旖旎以顺吹兮，	身体随箫声摇动如此婀娜多姿啊，
瞋哂𠰷以纡郁。	郁结的吹奏状如嗔怒。
气旁迕以飞射兮，	气息时而交错喷薄而出啊，
驰散涣以逫律。	时而缓缓流出，从容不迫。
趣从容其勿述兮，	吹奏时而从容顺畅啊，
惊合遝以诡谲。	时而众声齐发怪异多变。
或浑沌而潺湲兮，	有时乐音如缓缓的流水啊，
猎若枚折。	清脆如折枝。
或漫衍而骆驿兮，	有时乐音络绎连绵，不绝流淌啊，
沛焉竞溢。	声势浩如洪水。
惏慄密率，	乐音凄凉静谧，
掩以绝灭。	渐渐好似没有声音了。
嚛霵晔踕，	乐音繁复急促，
跳然复出。	好像突然又振作起来。
若乃徐听其曲度兮，	如果慢慢倾听洞箫的节拍、音调啊，
廉察其赋歌。	就会仔细品味出它的韵味。

So the various fingerings can easily be applied.
And then, they bid one whose sight has been blurred and dimmed,
From birth unable to perceive the forms and contours of Heaven and Earth,
Unable to distinguish hues and shapes of white and black,
Pent up with rage, bitter with sorrow,
Aggrieved that his eyes have lost acuity,
And lacking a means to release his cares,
To vent all his frustration in music.
Thus, he purses his lips in tune with gong and shang;
His harmonies, rich and strong, fill the air.
His body sways and swings in time with his blowing;
Glowering, he puffs up his cheeks, his rage unspent.
His breath, blasting through the pipes, suddenly bursts out,
To go forth, scattering and spreading, slowly dispersing,
Then dashing off, free and easy, smoothly flowing,
Racing off in a profusion of sound, eerie and strange.
Sometimes the notes blend together, burbling softly;
Or they may make a cracking sound like a snapping branch.
Sometimes they flood and flow without cease,
Brimming full as they contend to spill forth.
Then the sound is chilly and cold, tranquil and serene,
And abruptly dies out, as if completely stopped.
But suddenly, fast and furious, a spate of sound
Pours forth again from the pipes.

III

Then, if one quietly listens to the rhythm,
Carefully hearkens to the tune, he will hear:

【原文】

啾咇啼而将吟兮，
行锴铌以和啰。
风鸿洞而不绝兮，
优娆娆以婆娑。
翩绵连以牢落兮，
漂乍弃而为他。
要复遮其蹊径兮，
与讴谣乎相和。
故听其巨音，
则周流泛滥，
并包吐含，
若慈父之畜子也。
其妙声，
则清静厌瘱，
顺叙卑迭，
若孝子之事父也。
科条譬类，
诚应义理，
澎濞慷慨，
一何壮士。
优柔温润，
又似君子。
故其武声，
则若雷霆輘輷，
佚豫以沸愲。
其仁声，
则若颽风纷披，
容与而施惠。
或杂遝以聚敛兮，
或拔摋以奋弃。

【今译】

各种乐音相互交汇啊，
声音舒缓而交相应和。
风韵连绵不绝啊，
音律美妙盘旋。
乐音翩翩缭绕散落四处啊，
突然停止而转换曲调。
等待歌者发出声音啊，
循着音律与其相和。
因此听到箫发出洪亮的声音时，
就会感到箫音在周边泛起，
流畅饱满，
如同慈父教诲子女。
听到箫发出清妙的声音时，
就会感到乐音静谧而深邃，
和顺平滑，
好像孝子侍奉父亲。
好比法令条例，
确实合于仁义理智，
澎湃慷慨，
一如壮士。
宽厚温柔，
又好似君子。
箫音慷慨雄壮时，
好似雷霆霹雳轰鸣震荡，
声音迅疾喧腾。
箫音淳厚时，
就如沐和煦的南风，
从容舒缓，使万物生长。
忽而杂乱无章聚集在一起啊，
忽而声音散漫顷刻停息。

Manifold sounds of tweeting and tooting singing out,
Beginning slowly, gradually resounding in unison.
Like an unremitting breeze blowing without cease,
Gracefully, gently, swinging and swaying.
Then, floating away they continue on, thin and faint,
Until they abruptly stop to form another tune.
There they wait, blocking the road,
Until they play forth in harmony with a song.
Thus, now listen to the greater tones:
They course and flow like a river in flood,
Engorging and disgorging everything in their embrace,
Just like a kind father nurturing his sons.
The more subtle sounds
Are calm and quiet, subdued and still,
Docile and compliant, humble and meek,
Like a filial son serving his father.
The morals and lessons contained in its measures and rhythms,
Correspond indeed to principles of propriety and good conduct.
They surge with fury, are roused to passion—
Oh, how like the brave warrior.
But in their dignified gentility, and gentle amiability
They also resemble the gentleman.
Thus, their martial sounds
Are like booming blasts of thunder,
Speeding swiftly, rumbling and roaring.
Their benevolent sounds
Are like the mild warmth of a southern breeze,
Generously dispensing kindness.
Sometimes they coalesce, gather en masse;
Sometimes they are scattered and swept away.

【原文】	【今译】
悲怆怳以恻惐兮，	有时伤心失意让人悲伤啊，
时恬淡以绥肆。	有时又安然恬静内心平和。
被淋洒其靡靡兮，	有时连绵轻柔啊，
时横溃以阳遂。	有时又刚劲有力犹如怒江溃堤而通达。
哀悁悁之可怀兮，	哀怨的声音令人忧怀啊，
良醰醰而有味。	柔音醇厚而耐人寻味。
故贪饕者听之而廉隅兮，	贪婪的人听了箫音变得廉正有节操啊，
狠戾者闻之而不怼。	凶暴的人听了就不再充满怨恨。
刚毅强虣反仁恩兮，	刚毅强悍的人变得仁慈了啊，
啴唌逸豫戒其失。	放纵的人戒掉了他的过失。
钟期、牙、旷怅然而愕立兮，	钟子期、俞伯牙、师旷都惊愕得瞪眼呆立啊，
杞梁之妻不能为其气。	哭倒城墙的杞梁的妻子也无法发出声息。
师襄、严春不敢窜其巧兮，	师襄、严春不敢施展演奏的技巧啊，
浸淫叔子远其类。	不欺暗室的颜叔子也不能比。
嚚顽朱、均惕复慧兮，	愚昧顽顿的丹朱、商均听了惊觉又聪明了啊，
桀、跖、鬻、博儡以顿顇。	夏桀、盗跖和夏育、申博也困顿憔悴。
吹参差而入道德兮，	吹箫能把人引入感化之道，
故永御而可贵。	长久使用它的作用就非常可贵了。
时奏狡弄，	时而吹奏急促雄壮的短曲，
则彷徨翱翔，	好似盘旋翱翔，
或留而不行，	有时止步不前，

Sometimes the sounds are grave and despairing, sad and sorrowful;
Sometimes they are quiet and tranquil, calm and composed.
At times they are fine and delicate like tiny drops,
Or flow strong and easily like a river bursting its banks.
When mournful and plaintive, one's heart is beset with care;
Yet the sweet and mellifluous tones are something to savor.

IV

Thus, when the greedy and grasping listen to this music, their character becomes pure;
The fierce and malicious hear it, and do not grumble or complain.
The firm and resolute, the vicious and cruel return to benevolence and kindness;
The idle and indolent refrain from misdeeds.
Zhong Qi, Ya, and Kuang become disconcerted and dismayed,
Qi Liang's wife could not match its spirited feeling,
Shi Xiang and Yan Chun would not dare to display their skill,
Even the approachable Yan Shuzi would keep his distance from his kind,
The stupid and stubborn Zhu and Jun would be startled and have their intelligence restored,
Jie, Zhi, Yu, and Bo would become weak and fatigued.
The music of the pipes, so varied and diverse, enters the realm of morality,
And thus always can be enjoyed and honored.

V

At times the panpipe plays a rapid tune:
The sounds wander and waver,
Sometimes pausing, unmoving,

【原文】	【今译】
或行而不留。	有时前行不停。
憛悇澜漫，	心神散乱不宁，
亡耦失畴。	好似失去了伙伴。
薄索合沓，	音急而寻求重合，
罔象相求。	神在形外。
故知音者乐而悲之，	所以懂音乐的人听了或喜或悲，
不知音者怪而伟之。	不懂音乐的人听了也会啧啧称奇。
故闻其悲声，	所以听到悲怆的箫声，
则莫不怆然累欷，	人们无不悲伤而多次抽泣，
撆涕抆泪。	悄然拭去泪水。
其奏欢娱，	听到欢快的箫声，
则莫不惮漫衍凯，	没有不心情愉悦的，
阿那腲腇者已。	都放松下来从容不迫。
是以蟋蟀蚸蠖，	蟋蟀尺蠖听了，
蚑行喘息。	也缓缓爬行喘息不止。
蝼蚁蝘蜓，	蝼蚁蝘蜓，
蝇蝇翊翊。	慢慢爬行。
迁延徙迤，	往来不定地蠕动着，
鱼瞰鸡睨。	鱼儿和鸟儿都目光专注为乐声发呆。
垂喙蛩转，	垂下嘴折转身，
瞪瞢忘食。	瞪着眼忘了吃食。
况感阴阳之和，	况且人们感受到了阴阳之气，
而化风俗之伦哉。	就会被风俗伦理感化啊。
乱曰：	尾声：
状若捷武，	箫音铿锵有如矫健敏捷之士，
超腾逾曳，	腾挪跳跃，

Sometimes moving without pause.
Quiet and soft they scatter,
Without partner, bereft of mate.
Then urgently searching, repeating and repeating,
They find each other in the realm beyond form.
Thus, those who truly understand music both rejoice and sorrow over it;
Those who do not understand music find it wondrous and grand.
Those who hear its sad sounds
Do not fail to heave sad sighs,
And wipe away copious tears.
And with the playing of a joyful melody,
None fails to feel cheerful and glad,
Calm and relaxed.
Thus, the cricket and measuring worm
Slow their crawl, gasping and panting.
The molecricket, ant, and gecko
Creeping along, languid and listless,
Move to and fro, back and forth,
Goggling like fish, gaping like fowl.
Lowering their mouths, they whirl and twirl,
Staring intently, forgetting to eat.
How much more would this affect humankind, which is stirred by the harmony of yin and yang,
And transformed by moral custom!

VI

The finale says:
Its manner of sounds is like a nimble acrobat,
Leaping and vaulting, springing and bounding,

【原文】

迅漂巧兮。
又似流波，
泡溲汎涟，
趋巇道兮。
哮呷呟唤，
跻踬连绝，
淈殄沌兮。
搅搜浮捎，
逍遥踊跃，
若坏颓兮。
优游流离，
踌躇稽诣，
亦足耽兮。
颓唐遂往，
长辞远逝，
漂不还兮。
赖蒙圣化，
从容中道，
乐不淫兮。
条畅洞达，
中节操兮。
终诗卒曲，
尚余音兮。
吟气遗响，
联绵漂撇，
生微风兮。
连延骆驿，
变无穷兮。

【今译】

身轻如燕啊。
又似流水，
翻滚奔腾，
流入狭窄的山道啊。
发出巨大的声音，
声音或高或低，断断续续，
混杂不清啊。
水声澎湃，
自由自在，波浪起伏，
有如山崩地裂。
徘徊往复，
余音缭绕，令人神往，
也让人沉迷其中啊。
萎靡不振地向前，
永远地离开了，
漂走后就一去不复返了。
洞箫承蒙圣人教化，
悠闲舒缓，合乎大道，
表达感情却不过分。
顺畅通达，
合乎节拍啊。
乐曲终了，
还有余音绕梁啊。
箫管中留下的气息和声音，
萦绕相击，
好像微风吹起啊。
绵延不绝，
韵味变幻无穷啊。

Fleet and quick, agile and graceful.
It also is like dashing waves,
Foaming and frothing, rushing and raging,
Racing through a tortuous channel.
The music blares and blasts,
Rises and falls, stops and starts,
In a jarring and jostling of sounds.
Quaking and quivering, jolting and shaking,
Roaming at will, surging and swelling,
As if something had toppled and collapsed.
Relaxed and easy the rhythm flows,
Lingering briefly, hesitating and pausing—
One becomes almost spellbound.
Then, fading and falling, the sounds depart:
Bidding a final farewell, they vanish in the distance,
Drifting about, never to return.
The music is bestowed the transforming influence of the sages,
Calm and composed it accords with the Way,
And is joyous without being licentious.
Ordered and smooth, clear and penetrating,
It follows a strict rhythm.
When the song ends and the music stops,
There still is a lingering melody.
The remnant sounds of the piper's breath
Continuing on, reverberating in the pipes,
Generate a light breeze.
The music goes on in an unceasing stream,
Changing and transforming without end.

(*Translated by David R. Knechtges*)

杨恽

报孙会宗书

【原文】

恽材朽行秽，文质无所底，幸赖先人余业，得备宿卫。遭遇时变，以获爵位，终非其任，卒与祸会。足下哀其愚蒙，赐书教督以所不及，殷勤甚厚。然窃恨足下不深惟其终始，而猥随俗之毁誉也。言鄙陋之愚心，则若逆指而文过，默而自守，恐违孔氏各言尔志之义。故敢略陈其愚，惟君子察焉！

恽家方隆盛时，乘朱轮者十人，位在列卿，爵为通侯，总领从官，与闻政事。曾不能以此时有所建明，以宣德化。又不能与群僚并力，陪辅朝廷之遗忘，已负窃位素餐之责久矣。怀禄贪势，不能自退，遂

【今译】

我才能低下，行为丑恶，文章和品质都没有什么成就，有幸靠着先辈留下的功业，才得以充数做个宫中值宿的警卫。遭遇到时局变故，而得到了爵位，但始终未能胜任，结果遭了灾祸。您哀怜我的愚笨蒙昧，特地来信教导督促我，指出我的不足之处，恳切的情意甚为深厚。但我私下却怪您没有深入思考事情的本末，而轻率地附和世人的毁谤。讲出我浅陋的看法吧，就好像与您来信的宗旨相反而在掩饰自己的过错，沉默而不说吧，又恐怕违背了孔子提倡的每个人都应当直说自己志向的原则。因此我才敢简略地谈谈我的愚见，希望您能体察！

我家正当兴盛的时候，乘坐朱轮车做大官的有十人，我也位在九卿之列，爵封通侯，总管宫内的侍从官，参与并知晓国家大事。我竟不能在这样的时候对国事有所建议，来宣扬皇上的德政教化。又不能与同僚齐心协力，帮助辅正朝廷补救缺失，已经受到窃居高位、白食俸禄的指责很久了。我贪恋利禄和权势，不能自行引退，于是遭到意

Letter to Sun Hui-tsung

I am a man of paltry talent and unworthy actions, possessing neither refinement nor native ability. Yet I was fortunate enough, because of my father's achievements, to win a post in the palace guard, and later, happening upon a time of plotted disaffection, I gained the title of marquis. But I deserved neither of these, and so in the end I met with misfortune. Moved to pity by my stupidity, you have been good enough to write me a letter teaching me my shortcomings and how to correct them. Your heartfelt concern is truly generous. I am disturbed that, because you perhaps have not examined deeply enough into the circumstances of my case, you may be misled by the judgments of the common run of people, though I realize that if I speak out my unworthy thoughts too frankly I may appear to be contradicting you and attempting to gloss over my own errors. Nevertheless, if I were to remain silent, I fear I would be ignoring Confucius' injunction to let "each man speak his mind." Therefore I have ventured briefly to set forth my ideas in the hope that you will give them your consideration.

When my family was at the height of its power, ten of us rode about in the vermilion-wheeled carriages of high officials. I held a place in the ranks of ministers and was enfeoffed as a marquis. I had charge of the

【原文】

遭变故，横被口语，身幽北阙，妻子满狱。当此之时，自以夷灭不足以塞责，岂得全其首领，复奉先人之丘墓乎？伏惟圣王之恩，不可胜量。君子游道，乐以忘忧；小人全躯，说以忘罪。窃自思念，过已大矣，行已亏矣，长为农夫以没世矣。是故身率妻子，戮力耕桑，灌园治产，以给公上。不意当复用此为讥议也。

夫人情所不能止者，圣人弗禁。故君父至尊亲，送其终也，有时而既。臣之得罪，已三年矣。田家作苦，岁时伏腊，烹羊炮羔，斗酒自劳。家本秦也，能为秦声。妇赵女也，雅善鼓瑟，奴婢歌者数人，酒后耳热，仰天抚缶而呼呜呜。其诗曰：

【今译】

外的变故，平白地被人告发，被囚禁在宫殿北面的观楼内，妻子儿女全关押在监狱里。在这个时候，自己觉得合族抄斩也不足以抵偿罪责，哪里想得到竟能保住脑袋，再去奉祀祖先的坟墓呢？我伏在地上思考圣主的恩德，真是无法计量。君子的身心沉浸在道义之中，快乐得忘记了忧愁；小人保全了性命，快活得忘掉了自身的罪过。我知道自己的罪责深重，品行有所亏欠，想永远当农夫了此一生。因此我亲自率领妻子儿女，竭尽全力种田养蚕，灌溉园圃，经营产业，用来向官府交纳赋税。想不到又因为这样而被人指责和非议。

人之常情所不能禁止的事情，圣人也不加以禁止。所以即使是最尊贵的君王和最亲近的父亲，为他们送终服丧，也有一定的时限。我获罪以来，已经三年了。种田人家劳作辛苦，一年中遇上伏日、腊日，我就烧煮羊肉烤炙羊羔，斟上一壶酒自我慰劳一番。我的老家本在秦地，因此我能唱秦地的民歌。妻子是赵地的女子，很擅长鼓瑟，奴婢中也有几个会唱歌的，喝酒以后耳根发热，昂首面对苍天信手敲击瓦缶，按着节拍而歌。歌词是：

officials who waited upon the emperor and I took part in the handling of affairs of state. And yet at that time I was unable to contribute anything to the advancement and glorification of imperial rule, nor did I succeed in joining my efforts with those of my fellow officials in repairing defects and oversights in the government. For a long time I was guilty of stealing a post I did not deserve and enjoying a salary I had not earned, coveting my stipend, greedy for power, and quite unable to check myself. Then I met with a sudden change of fortune and found myself faced with unbridled accusations. I was confined to the North Tower of the palace and my wife and children were thrown into prison. At that time I concluded that even the death penalty would be insufficient to atone for my guilt. Surely I never thought that I could keep head and body together and serve once more the grave mound of my father. And yet the mercy of our sage ruler knows no bounds! The superior man practices the Way and delights in forgetting his cares. The mean man seeks to prolong his life and loves to forget his faults. Considering that my errors had been great and my actions far from what they should have been, I decided that it was best for me to end my days as a farmer. So I took my wife and family to the country where, pooling our strength, we plow, tend the mulberries, water the garden, and so produce enough to pay our taxes to the state. It never occurred to me, however, that such activities might arouse your censure.

One cannot put a stop to human emotions; even sages do not try. Therefore, although rulers or fathers command the greatest honor and affection, when they die the period of mourning for them must eventually come to an end. And it has already been three years since I incurred disgrace. My family and I work hard in our fields, and when the summer and winter holidays come, we boil a sheep, roast a young lamb, bring out a measure of wine and rest from our labors. My own family came originally from Ch'in and so I can make music in the Ch'in style, while my wife is from Chao and consequently plays the lute very well. In addition we have several maidservants who sing. After I have had something to drink and my ears are beginning to burn, I gaze up at the sky and, thumping on a crock to keep time, I give a great ya-a and sing this song:

【原文】

田彼南山，
芜秽不治；
种一顷豆，
落而为萁。
人生行乐耳，
须富贵何时？

是日也，拂衣而喜，奋袖低昂，顿足起舞，诚淫荒无度，不知其不可也。恽幸有余禄，方籴贱贩贵，逐什一之利。此贾竖之事，污辱之处，恽亲行之。下流之人，众毁所归，不寒而栗。虽雅知恽者，犹随风而靡，尚何称誉之有？董生不云乎："明明求仁义，常恐不能化民者，卿大夫之意也；明明求财利，常恐困乏者，庶人之事也。"故道

【今译】

在南山下种田，
荆棘野草多得没法除清；
种下了一顷地的豆子，
只收到一片无用的豆茎。
人生还是及时行乐吧，
富贵谁知要等到什么时候？

在这样的日子里，我高兴地抖动衣服，两袖甩得忽高忽低，两脚踩地随意起舞，的确是纵情玩乐而不加节制，但我不懂这有什么不可以。我幸好还有些剩余的俸禄，正经营着贱买贵卖的生意，追求那十分之一的薄利。这是只有商人才干的事情，是备受轻视侮辱的事，我却亲自去做了。地位卑贱的人，是众人诽谤的对象，我常因此不寒而栗。即使是十分了解我的人，尚且随风而倒讥讽我，哪里还会有人来称赞我呢？董仲舒不是说过："努力地求仁求义，常担心不能用仁义感化百姓，这是卿大夫的心意；努力地求财求利，常担心贫困匮乏，这是平民百姓做的事情。"所以思想信仰不同的人，是不在一起谋划事情的。

I sowed the southern hill
But I could not keep back the weeds.
I planted an acre of beans
But they fell off the vine, leaving bare stems.
Man's life should be spent in joy;
Why wait in vain for wealth and honor?

At such times I flap my robes in delight, wave my sleeves up and down, stamp my feet and dance about. Indeed it is a wild and unconventional way to behave, and yet I cannot say that I see anything wrong in it. I was lucky enough to have a little of my stipend left over, and with the amount I bought up grain cheap and sold it dear, making a ten per cent profit. This is a vile and merchantly thing to do, a sordid undertaking, and for me to engage in it personally places me among the lowest ranks of society and makes me the butt of censure. Though the weather is not cold, I tremble to think of the disgrace. Even you, who know me so well, appear to have followed along with the rest in reprimanding me. Under such circumstances, what business would I have trying to win a fair reputation? The philosopher Tung Chung-shu has said, has he not: "To strive with all one's might for benevolence and righteousness, fearful always lest one fail to educate the people—this is the ambition of a statesman. To strive with all one's might for goods and profit, fearful always of poverty and want—this is the business of ordinary people." So, [as Confucius said,] "those who do not follow the same road

【原文】

不同不相为谋。今子尚安得以卿大夫之制而责仆哉？

夫西河魏土，文侯所兴，有段干木、田子方之遗风，凛然皆有节概，知去就之分。顷者足下离旧土，临安定。安定山谷之间，昆夷旧壤，子弟贪鄙，岂习俗之移人哉！于今乃睹子之志矣。方当盛汉之隆，愿勉旃，无多谈。

【今译】

现在您怎能还用卿大夫的要求来责备我呢？

西河郡原是魏国的土地，魏文侯在那里兴起大业，还有段干木、田子方遗留下来的好风尚，严肃不苟都有高远的志向和气概，懂得去留和仕隐的分别。近来您离开了故乡，到安定郡任太守。安定郡地处山谷中间，是昆夷族人的旧地，他们的后辈子孙贪婪卑鄙，难道是当地的风俗习惯改变了您的品性吗？直到现在我才看清了您的志向。如今正当大汉朝的鼎盛时期，希望您努力上进，不再多说了。

cannot lay plans for each other." Why, then, do you come with the ideals of the statesman and use them to censure a person like me?

The old region of Wei west of the Yellow River, from which you come, prospered under the rule of Marquis Wen, and its people still retain something of the ways of the sages Tuan Kan-mu and T'ien Tzu-fang. All of them are men of the most lofty virtue, capable of clearly distinguishing right from wrong. Now, however, you have left your native land and are acting as governor of Ting-an. Ting-an is a mountainous region, the old home of the K'un-yi barbarians, and its sons are greedy and uncouth. How can you hope to change the customs and habits of such people? I fully understand from your letter what your ambitions are. Now, when the Han is at the height of its glory, I hope you will pursue them with utmost diligence, and not spend too much time in talk.

(*Translated by Burton Watson*)

扬雄

解嘲

【原文】

客嘲扬子曰："吾闻上世之士，人纲人纪，不生则已，生则上尊人君，下荣父母，析人之圭，儋人之爵，怀人之符，分人之禄，纡青拖紫，朱丹其毂。今子幸得遭明盛之世，处不讳之朝，与群贤同行，历金门，上玉堂有日矣，曾不能画一奇，出一策，上说人主，下谈公卿。目如耀星，舌如电光，一纵一横，论者莫当，顾默而作《太玄》五千文，支叶扶疏，独说十余万言，深者入黄泉，高者出苍天，大者含元气，细者入无伦。然而位不过侍郎，擢才给事黄门。意者玄得毋尚白乎？何为官之拓落也？"

【今译】

客人嘲讽扬子说："我听说上古的贤士，是众人立身处世的准则和目标，不生则已，生就能上使君主尊荣，下使父母显荣，能被君主封侯，获得君主赐给的爵位，接受君主的兵符委托出征，享受君主供给的俸禄，佩戴九卿公侯显贵的印绶，乘坐红色的车子。如今你有幸赶上开明盛世，处在没有忌讳的朝堂，与众多贤臣同列，待诏金马门，登玉堂已有一段时间了，却未能谋划出一个出色的谋略，献上一条高明的计策，向上劝说君主，向下与公卿议论。您目如明星，舌似闪电，纵横莫测，谈论起来无人能比，反而默默地写了五千字的《太玄》，分析事理翔实缜密，独自论说十多万言，深奥之处好比进入黄泉，高远之处好比出了苍天，大处包含元气，细微处精密无间。可是官位不过侍郎，经过提拔才到给事黄门。想来是"玄"得不够的缘故吧？为何官运如此不佳呢？"

Yang Xiong

Dissolving Ridicule

A guest said, "I have heard that a scholar of the past generations served as model and principle for other men. If he had never been born that would be the end of the matter, but since he was born in the world, he was obliged to honor his lord above and glorify his parents below.

He split a tablet with his lord,
Accepted rank from his lord,
Embraced a tally from his lord,
Partook of a salary from his lord.
Bound up in blue, trailing purple.
He vermillioned his wheel hubs.

Now you are fortunate enough to encounter a bright and glorious age, to dwell in a censure-free court, and to associate with a multitude of worthies. You have long passed through the Golden Gate and ascended the Jade Hall, but you have never devised a single scheme or produced a single plan.

Nor do you
Persuade the ruler above,
Debate with the ministers below,
Or with eyes blazing like stars,
A tongue like flashing lightning,
Argue now vertically, now horizontally,
So that no critic can rebut you.
All you do is silently write your five thousand character *Great Dark*;
Its leaves and branches spread all over,

【原文】

扬子笑而应之曰："客徒欲朱丹吾毂，不知一跌将赤吾之族也。往者周罔解结，群鹿争逸，离为十二，合为六七，四分五剖，并为战国。士无常君，国无定臣，得士者富，失士者贫，矫翼厉翮，恣意所存，故士或自盛以橐，或凿坏以遁。是故驺衍以颉亢而取世资；孟轲虽连蹇，犹为万乘师。

"今大汉左东海，右渠搜，前番禺，后陶涂。东南一尉，西北一候。徽以纠墨，制以质𫓧，散以《礼》《乐》，风以《诗》《书》，旷以

【今译】

扬子笑着回答说："您只想我能乘坐红色的车子，不知道一旦失足将使我的家族遭受灭门的灾祸啊。过去周王朝瓦解，诸侯争雄，分天下为十二国，后又合并成六七国，四分五裂，成为战国。士人没有固定的君主，国家没有固定的臣属，得到士人的就富强，失去士人的就贫弱，士人展翅奋翼施展才华，在各国之间任意去留，所以有范雎那样藏身袋中得以由魏入秦的，有颜阖那样凿通墙壁逃走避官的。因此邹衍以奇怪的学说为天下所用，孟轲虽处境艰难，仍成为大国君主的老师。

"如今大汉朝的国土东至东海，西至渠搜，南至番禺，北至陶涂。东南有会稽郡都尉，西北建玉门关侯。在治理国家方面，用绳索捆绑，用刀斧制裁，用礼乐约束，用《诗》《书》教化，旷日持久，结庐为父母守丧方能做官。天下的士人，如雷动云集，如鱼鳞纷纭众多，都

Which alone makes an explanation of some one hundred thousand words.
Where it is deep it penetrates the Yellow Springs,
Where it is high it reaches the blue sky.
Where it is large it encompasses the primal force;
Where it is minute it enters the finest crevice.
However,
You hold the position of Gentleman in Attendance,
Have been selected merely as Servitor at the Yellow Gate.
It is my opinion that your 'dark' (*hsüan*) is still 'white.' Otherwise, why have you failed so miserably in your career?"

Yang-tzu laughed and answered, "You only want to vermillion my wheel hubs. You do not seem to know that just one slip will redden my entire clan.

In the past Chou's net of control was loosened,
A herd of deer raced away in flight.
They separated into twelve parts,
Joined into sixes and sevens.
Split into fours, paired into fives,
Combined became the Warring States.
The scholar had no permanent ruler,
The state had no reliable officials.
Those who obtained scholars became wealthy,
Those who lost them became poor.
Scholars flapped their wings, shook their quills,
Alighted wherever they pleased.
Therefore,
Sometimes a scholar hid himself in a sack,
Or fled by drilling a hole in a wall.
For this reason
Tsou Yen, because of his stiff-necked arrogance, was employed by the world.
Even though Meng K'o suffered hardships, he became the teacher of a powerful lord.

【原文】

岁月，结以倚庐。天下之士，雷动云合，鱼鳞杂袭，咸营于八区。家家自以为稷、契，人人自以为咎繇。戴继垂缨而谈者，皆拟于阿衡；五尺童子，羞比晏婴与夷吾。当涂者入青云，失路者委沟渠。旦握权则为卿相，夕失势则为匹夫。譬若江湖之崖，渤澥之岛，乘雁集不为之多，双凫飞不为之少。昔三仁去而殷墟，二老归而周炽，子胥死而吴亡，种、蠡存而越霸，五羖入而秦喜，乐毅出而燕惧，范雎以折摺而危穰侯，蔡泽以噤吟而笑唐举。故当其有事也，非萧、曹、子房、平、勃、樊、霍则不能安，当其亡事也，章句之徒相与坐而守之，亦亡所患。故世乱则圣哲驰骛而不足，世治则庸夫高枕而有余。

【今译】

定居在四面八方。家家都认为自己是后稷和契，人人都认为自己是咎繇。束发系冠的成年男子，都把自己比作伊尹；五尺童子也羞与晏婴、管仲相提并论。当权的青云直上，落魄的被丢弃在荒野。早上掌权就能成为卿相，晚上失势就变成平民百姓。好比河流湖泊的岸边，渤海中的岛屿，四只大雁降落不算多，两只野鸭起飞不为少。从前三位仁人离去，殷朝就成为废墟，两位老人归来，周朝就兴旺发达，伍子胥死后，吴国就灭亡，文种、范蠡存在，越国就称霸，百里奚到来，秦国就高兴，乐毅出走，燕国就恐惧，范雎折肋断齿而威胁穰侯，蔡泽因下巴骨微向前伸遭到唐举的嘲笑。所以当国家有变故的时候，没有萧何、曹参、张良、陈平、周勃、樊哙、霍去病则不能安定，当国家无事的时候，咬文嚼字的儒生坐在一起看守也没有忧患。所以世道混乱那么多圣人哲人四处奔波也不够，社会太平则庸夫俗子也可高枕无忧了。

Now, the great Han
With the Eastern Sea on the left,
Ch'ü-sou on the right,
P'an-yü to the front,
Chiao-t'u to the rear,
Has one governor for the southeast,
One overseer for the northwest.
The entire country is bound together with ropes,
And is controlled with the executioner's axes,
They disseminate the *Rites* and *Music*,
Extend moral influence with *Poetry* and *History*.
They spend years and months
Building schoolhouses.
The scholars of the empire,
Moving like thunder, gathering like clouds,
Arrayed like fishscales,
All hasten into the eight regions.
All fancy themselves a Chi or Hsieh;
Each considers himself a Kao-yao.
Sophists wearing hair-nets and cap-strings all compare themselves with A-heng.
A five-foot boy is ashamed to be compared to Yen Ying or Yi-wu.
Those who hold high positions lie abandoned in ditches and moats.
At dawn one holds power and is a minister;
At dusk he loses power and becomes a commoner.
The court is like the bank of a river or lake
Or an island in a large gulf.
When a flock of geese alight there they don't constitute a great increase;
When several of them fly away that does not make a great loss.
In the past
When the Three Humane Ones left Yin, it was reduced to ruins;
When the Two Elders returned to Chou, it began to prosper.
When Tzu-hsü died, Wu was destroyed;
When Chung and Li survived, Yüeh became hegemon.

【原文】

“夫上世之士，或解缚而相，或释褐而傅，或倚夷门而笑，或横江潭而渔，或七十说而不遇；或立谈间而封侯，或枉千乘于陋巷，或拥帚彗而先驱。是以士颇得信其舌而奋其笔，窒隙蹈瑕而无所诎也。当今县令不请士，郡守不迎师，群卿不揖客，将相不俯眉；言奇者见疑，行殊者得辟。是以欲谈者宛舌而固声，欲行者拟足而投迹。向使上世之士处乎今，策非甲科，行非孝廉，举非方正，独可抗疏，时道是非，高得待诏，下触闻罢，又安得青紫?

【今译】

“前代的贤士，有的被解掉捆绑绳索而任用为相，有的脱去粗麻衣服而成为三公，有的是看守城门却成为上宾，有的在江边隐居垂钓，有的年过七十游说各国还没有被重用，有的谈话之间就被封侯，有的使诸侯屈就于陋巷，有的使诸侯拿着扫帚在前边清道。因此士人能充分发挥他们的口才，展现他们的文采，堵塞漏洞、弥补过失而从未有阻碍。如今县令不请士人，郡守不迎接老师，众卿不聚集人才，将相不谦恭下士；言语奇异的被怀疑，行为特殊的遭惩罚。因此想说话的人卷起舌头等别人说了才跟着说，想行走的人揣度着别人的脚印才迈步。如果让前代的贤士处在今天，那么考试不能入甲科，行为不能称孝廉，举止不能算端正，只能上书直言，指摘时政过失，好的得一个待诏的头衔，差的被告知罢免，又怎能得到高官厚禄？

When 'Five Sheepskins' entered Ch'in, Duke Mu was delighted;
But when Yüeh Yi left Yen, King Hui was afraid.
Fan Chü had broken ribs and teeth but was able to threaten the Marquis of Jang;
Ts'ai Tse's deformed jaws made T'ang Chü laugh.
Therefore, in a time of emergency
Without ministers like Hsiao, Ts'ao, Tzu-fang,
P'ing, Po, Fan and Huo there is no security.
In a time of no emergency
Students of paragraphs and phrases sit together and take care of things
And there is no cause for worry.

Therefore, when the world is beset with chaos, the sage and wise gallop around but they cannot adequately meet the situation. When the world is well-ordered, ordinary men can handle the government with their heads on a pillow and there is ability to spare.

Among scholars of the past:
One was freed from fetters and became a minister;
One took off his coarse clothing and became a king's adviser.
One leaned on Yi Gate and laughed;
One crossed the river depths and fished.
One persuaded seventy times but was never successful;
Another spoke once to a king and was made marquis.
One made a ruler of a powerful state bend into his humble alley;
Another moved a ruler to sweep the road ahead for him.
Thus, scholars stretched their tongues and moved their brushes.
They filled up gaps and stepped into openings without being suppressed.
In the present
District magistrates do not summon scholars,
Commandery governors do not invite teachers,
High chancellors do not receive guests,
Generals and ministers do not condescend to look on a scholar.
Those who speak the unusual are considered suspicious;

【原文】

"且吾闻之，炎炎者灭，隆隆者绝；观雷观火，为盈为实；天收其声，地藏其热。高明之家，鬼瞰其室。攫拏者亡，默默者存；位极者宗危，自守者身全。是故知玄知默，守道之极；爰清爰静，游神之廷；惟寂惟漠，守德之宅。世异事变，人道不殊，彼我易时，未知何如。今子乃以鸱枭而笑凤皇，执蝘蜓而嘲龟龙，不亦病乎！子徒笑我玄之尚白，吾亦笑子之病甚不遭臾跗扁鹊，悲夫！"

【今译】

"况且我听说，熊熊的火焰会熄灭，隆隆的雷声会断绝；看那火光雷声，盈满充实；上天收起雷声，土地藏起火热。显贵之家，鬼神窥视其房室。妄取争夺的人灭亡，恬淡自守不重名利的人得以生存；官位太高的宗族十分危险，坚持操守的人才能保全自身。因此懂得清静无为玄妙幽静，是守道的根本；于是能够清净，是浮想骋思的殿堂；安于寂寞，是守德的根基。时代不同世事变更，但为人之道没有区别，前人与我换个时代，不知会怎么样。如今您却用鸱枭嘲笑凤凰，拿壁虎嘲笑龟龙，不是大错特错吗！您凭空笑我玄得不够，我也笑您病入膏肓，却没有遇上良医臾跗、扁鹊，太可悲了！"

Those who do something different are punished.
Thus
Those who wish to speak roll up their tongues and echo the consensus;
Those who want to act walk with hesitation and follow others' footsteps.

Suppose distinguished scholars of the past lived today. If their memorials were not 'Class A,' their conduct were not 'filial and pure,' if they were not recommended as 'square and upright,' all they could do is present memorials and periodically speak criticism. The best of them would be able to attain Candidate for Appointment; the worst of them would be heard and then dismissed. How could they obtain the blue and purple?

Furthermore, I have heard that
When a fire is at its hottest point it begins to die down;
When thunder drones its loudest it begins to die out.
If we examine thunder, examine fire
They will appear to be full and strong,
But the sky gathers the sound of thunder
And the earth absorbs the heat of fire.
Similarly, a family at the apex of fame
Will be spied out by the spirits.
Those who grab for power die;
Those who remain silent survive.
Those who reach the highest positions endanger their family;
Those who maintain themselves intact remain secure.
Therefore
To understand the Dark, understand the silent
Is to preserve the principle of the Way.
To be pure, to be tranquil
Is to travel in the court of Spirit.
To be quiet, to be still
Is to preserve the abode of Power.
Times differ, circumstances change,
But the Way of man never alters.
If we could change times with those of the past,

【原文】

客曰："然则靡玄无所成名乎？范、蔡以下，何必玄哉？"

扬子曰："范雎，魏之亡命也，折胁折髂，免于徽索，翕肩蹈背，扶服入橐，激卬万乘之主，界泾阳，抵穰侯而代之，当也。蔡泽，山东之匹夫也，顩颐折頞，涕唾流沫，西揖强秦之相，搤其咽而亢其气，附其背而夺其位，时也。天下已定，金革已平，都于雒阳，娄敬委辂脱挽，掉三寸之舌，建不拔之策，举中国徙之长安，适也。五帝垂典，三王传礼，百世不易，叔孙通起于枹鼓之间，解甲投戈，遂作君臣之仪，得也。《甫刑》靡敝，秦法酷烈，圣汉权制，而萧何造律，宜也。故有造萧何律于唐虞之世，则谬矣；有作叔孙通仪于夏、殷之时，则惑矣；有建娄敬之策于成周之世，则缪矣；有谈范、蔡之说于

【今译】

客人说："如此说来没有'玄'就成不了名吗？蔡泽、范雎之后，都要靠'玄'才能成显贵吗？"

扬子回答说："范雎，是魏国的逃亡者，被打断肋骨、腰骨，才免遭捆绑入狱，耸肩塌背，匍匐爬进口袋，后来用激怒秦国君主的办法，离间泾阳君，从旁攻击穰侯并取而代之，这是刚好遇到机会了。蔡泽，是东方六国的平常之人，凹脸塌鼻，口沫飞溅，到西方拜见强秦的宰相范雎，扼住他的咽喉，断绝他的气息，拍着他的背夺取他的相位，这是时机凑巧。天下已经安定，征战已经平息，建都洛阳，娄敬放下拉车的绳索，摇动三寸不烂之舌，献出稳妥的计策，提出将国都迁往长安，这是适应了当时的形势。五帝留下经典，三王传下礼乐，百世没有变动，叔孙通在战争年代挺身而出，脱下铠甲放下武器，制订了君臣之间的礼仪，是找到了应有的归宿。周代的《甫刑》已被破坏，秦代刑法残暴，圣明的汉朝制定临时措施，于是萧何制定律章，这是合乎时宜。所以说如果在唐尧、虞舜的时代制定萧何的法律，就太荒谬了；如果在夏朝、殷朝的时代拟订叔孙通的礼仪，就太糊涂了；如果在周公辅佐成王的时代提出娄敬的计策，就太不合情理了；如果在

We do not know which of us would be successful.
Now you
Take the owl and laugh at the phoenix,
Grasp the measuring-worm and mock the tortoise and dragon.
Are you not ill with error?
You laugh because my 'dark' is still 'white.'
I laugh at you because you are so ill with error.
How sad you have never met Yü Fu and Pien Ch'üeh."

The guest said, "If this is so, without a 'dark' there is no way to achieve fame, is there? But what need did men like Fan and Ts'ai have for a 'dark.'"

Yang-tzu said, "Fan Chü was a refugee from Wei. He had his ribs broken and his bones crushed but escaped the shackles. He pulled in his shoulders, had someone stamp on his back, and he crawled into a bag. He excited a powerful lord and induced him to exile the lord of Ching-yang, to expel the Marquis of Jang, and let Fan take his place. He could do this because the opportunity was right.Ts'ai Tse was a commoner from east of the mountains. He had a deformed jaw and broken nose, tears and spittle poured down his face. In the west he bowed to the minister of the powerful Ch'in, seized him by the throat, choked him with his eloquence, slapped him on the back and took his position. He could do this because the time was right.When the empire was pacified and warfare had ceased, the capital was established at Lo-yang. Lou Ching abandoned his man-drawn cart, flashed his three-inch tongue, devised a plan that could not be uprooted, and proposed that the capital be moved to Ch'ang-an. He could do this because the situation was right. The Five Emperors handed down the laws and the Three Kings transmitted the rites. These were not changed for a hundred generations. Shu-sun T'ung arose in a time of warfare, took off his armor, cast away his lance, and then composed a code of court ritual. He could do this because he understood the needs of the time. The Code of Lv was ineffective and the Ch'in laws were too harsh. When the sage Han established the regulations Hsiao Ho drew up the code. He could do this because the conditions were right. Therefore, if the code of Hsiao Ho had been drawn up in the time of T'ang and Yü, it would have been considered

【原文】

金、张、许、史之间，则狂矣。

“夫萧规曹随，留侯画策，陈平出奇，功若泰山，响若阺隤，唯其人之胆智哉，亦会其时之可为也。故为可为于可为之时，则从；为不可为于不可为之时，则凶。夫蔺先生收功于章台，四皓采荣于南山，公孙创业于金马，骠骑发迹于祁连，司马长卿窃赀于卓氏，东方朔割炙于细君。仆诚不能与此数公者并，故默然独守吾《太玄》。”

【今译】

显宦外戚的时期论说范雎、蔡泽的主张，就是发疯了。

“萧何制定法规曹参尊循不变，张良出谋划策，陈平出奇制胜，功劳像泰山，影响如崖崩，岂止是这些人富于胆量和智慧呢，也正好是当时的环境可以有所作为啊。所以在可以有所作为的时代做可以做的事情，就十分顺利；在无可作为的时代做不可做的事情，就十分危险。蔺相如在章台献和氏璧而立下大功，四皓在南山隐居而获取美名，公孙弘在金马门对策而建功立业，霍去病在祁连山征战而立功扬名，司马相如从卓家获取资财，东方朔为妻子细君割取赐肉。我的确不能和以上诸公相比，所以默默地独自守着我的《太玄》。”

untimely. If the eourt ritual of Shu-sun T'ung had been eomposed in the Hsia and Yin pcriods, it would have been vicwcd with suspicion. If Lou Ching's plan had bccn deviscd in thc time of King Ch'cng of Chou, it would have bcen considcred ridiculous. If the spceches of Fan and Ts'ai had bcen madc to Chin, Chang, Hsü or Shih, they would have been eonsidered silly.

The regulations of Hsiao that Ts'ao followed,
The plans devised by thc Marquis of Liu,
The unusual polieies formulated by Ch'en P'ing
Earned mcrit piled as high as a tall mountain,
Achieved fame that resounded like the noisc of a eollapsing hill.
Even though these men possessed great wisdom,
They also met the proper timc.
Therefore
Hc who does what ean bc done at the proper time will be sueeessful;
He who docs what cannot be done at the impropcr timc will fail miserably.
Master Lin achievcd sueccss at Chang Towcr;
The four grey-heads plueked glory at South Mountain.
Kung-sun began his career at Gold Horse;
The Swift Cavalry Gencral started out at Ch'i-lien.
Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju stole his wcalth from the Cho elan;
Tung-fang Shuo eut off some sacrificial mcat for his wife.
I certainly eannot be classed with these mcn.
Thus, silcntly and alonc I guard my *Great Dark*."

(*Translated by David R. Knechtges*)

褚少孙

西门豹治邺

【原文】

魏文侯时，西门豹为邺令。豹往到邺，会长老，问之民所疾苦。长老曰："苦为河伯娶妇，以故贫。"豹问其故，对曰："邺三老、廷掾常岁赋敛百姓，收取其钱得数百万，用其二三十万为河伯娶妇，与祝巫共分其余钱持归。当其时，巫行视小家女好者，云是当为河伯妇，即娉取。洗沐之，为治新缯绮縠衣，闲居斋戒；为治斋宫河上，张缇绛帷，女居其中；为具牛酒饭食，行十余日。共粉饰之，如嫁女床席，令女居其上，浮之河中。始浮，行数十里乃没。其人家有好女者，恐

【今译】

魏文侯的时候，西门豹任邺县令。他来到邺县，会集地方上德高望重的人，向他们询问百姓的疾苦。这些人说："百姓苦于给河伯娶妻，因为这个缘故本地现在很穷。"西门豹问这是怎么回事，这些人回答说："邺县的乡官、廷掾每年都要向老百姓征收赋税搜刮钱财，搜刮来的钱有几百万，他们用其中的二三十万为河伯娶妻，而剩余的钱就和巫婆一同瓜分中饱私囊。到了为河伯娶妻的时候，巫婆看到贫苦人家的女子漂亮，便说这女子应该做河伯的妻子，马上强行聘娶。给她洗澡洗头，给她做新的丝绸花衣，让她独自居住并沐浴斋戒；并为此在河边建起斋戒用的房子，张挂起赤黄色和大红色的绸帐，让这个女子住在里面。给她准备好酒肉饭菜，这样经过十几天。大家又一起给她妆饰打扮，准备好像嫁女儿用的床席，让这个女子坐在上面，然后把床席漂到河中。起初床席还能在水面上漂

Chu Shaosun

Ximen Bao's Judicious Administration of Ye County

In the reign of Duke Weiwen, Ximen Bao was appointed as magistrate of Ye County. When he came into offiee, he met the loeal patriarehs, inquiring about the people's troubles and afflictions. They replied, "Their trouble lies ehiefly in marrying girls to thc river god, and this has brought about their poverty." Ximen asked about thc rcason and the answer was: "The three county chiefs and their assistants exact an annual revenue of several million eoins, of which they used only two or three hundred thousand in marrying a girl to the river god, taking the remainder as spoils to share with the witches and sorcerers. To arrange for the marriage, the witehes first made a house-to-house visit and when they found a beautiful girl, she was surc to be designated as the god's wifc. After her cngagement to the god, she was bathcd, dressed in a new robe of silk or erepe, and was eaused to live in isolation in a tcnt hung with yellow and searlct eurtains, praying and fasting, though she was providcd with beef, rice and wine. And this

【原文】

大巫祝为河伯取之，以故多持女远逃亡。以故城中益空无人，又困贫，所从来久远矣。民人俗语曰：'即不为河伯娶妇，水来漂没，溺其人民'云。"西门豹曰："至为河伯娶妇时，愿三老、巫祝、父老送女河上，幸来告语之，吾亦往送女。"皆曰："诺。"

至其时，西门豹往会之河上。三老、官属、豪长者、里父老皆会，以人民往观之者三二千人。其巫，老女子也，已年七十。从弟子女十

【今译】

浮着，漂了几十里便沉没了。那些有漂亮女子的人家，担心巫婆替河伯娶走，因此大多带着自己的女儿逃亡到远处去了。也因为这个缘故，城里越来越空荡无人，更加贫困，这种情况已经很久了。老百姓中间流传的俗语说：'假如不给河伯娶妻，就会大水泛滥，把老百姓都淹死'。"西门豹说："到了给河伯娶妻的时候，希望乡官、巫婆、父老都到河边去送新娘，也请你们来告诉我一声，我也要去送送这个女子。"这些人都说："好。"

到了为河伯娶妻的日子，西门豹到河边与大家见面。乡官、属吏、有钱有势的人、地方上的父老都会集在此，来看热闹的老百姓也有两三千人。那个巫婆，是个老女人，已经七十岁。跟着她的女弟子有十

lasted for more than ten days. The whole place was decorated by the folks and a bed was well furnished for her in the same way as for a daughter to be married off by her parents. Then she was settled on the bed, which was floated down the river till it sank dozens of li away. People who had good-looking daughters, fearing lest the witches and sorcerers marry them to the god, often brought them to distant places to evade the disaster. As a result, the town has become ever more deserted and poverty-stricken, for this has long since been the local practice. The folks used to say, 'If no girls are married to the river god, floods will come to drown us all.'" Ximen said, "When the wedding takes place, and the three county chiefs, the witches and the townsfolk go to send the girl off, I wish to be informed so that I might do as well." They all said, "Good."

When the time came, Ximen went to join them on the bank, where gathered the county chiefs, officials, local patriarchs and folks from the neighborhood, with the spectators numbering two or three thousand. The presiding sorceress, an old woman aged seventy, was accompanied by some ten followers, all dressed in silk, standing behind their mistress. "Let the girl come and I'll see whether she is beautiful or ugly," Ximen ordered. Then the girl was brought from the tent into his presence. He looked at her, and turning around, said to the three county chiefs, the witches and the elderly folks: "This girl is not beautiful. I'll trouble our great sorceress to report to the river god that we'll choose a better one and send her to

【原文】

人所，皆衣缯单衣，立大巫后。西门豹曰："呼河伯妇来，视其好丑。"即将女出帷中，来至前。豹视之，顾谓三老、巫祝、父老曰："是女子不好，烦大巫妪为入报河伯，得更求好女，后日送之。"即使吏卒共抱大巫妪投之河中。有顷，曰："巫妪何久也？弟子趣之！"复以弟子一人投河中。有顷，曰："弟子何久也？复使一人趣之！"复投一弟子河中。凡投三弟子。西门豹曰："巫妪弟子是女子也，不能白事，烦三老为入白之。"复投三老河中。西门豹簪笔磬折，向河立待良久。长老、吏傍观者皆惊恐。西门豹顾曰："巫妪、三老不来还，奈之何？"欲复使廷掾与豪长者一人入趣之。皆叩头，叩头且破，额血流地，色如死灰。西门豹曰："诺，且留待之须臾。"须臾，豹曰："廷

【今译】

来个人，都身穿丝绸的单衣，站在老巫婆的后面。西门豹说："叫河伯的妻子过来，我看看她长得漂亮不漂亮。"人们马上扶着这个女子出了帷帐，来到西门豹面前。西门豹看了看这个女子，回头对乡官、巫婆、父老们说："这个女子不漂亮，麻烦巫婆替我们到河里去禀报河伯，等重新找到漂亮的女子，后天送给他。"就叫差役们一齐抱起巫婆扔到河中。过了一会儿，说："巫婆为什么去了这么久呢？叫她弟子去催催她！"又把她的一个弟子扔到河中。又过了一会儿，说："这个弟子为什么也这么久？再派一个弟子去催催她们！"又扔一个弟子到河中。总共扔进河里三个弟子。西门豹说："巫婆和她的弟子都是女人，不能把事情说清楚，麻烦乡官去河里替我们说明情况。"又把乡官扔到河中。西门豹插笔于冠弯着腰恭恭敬敬地面向河站着等了很久。长老、廷掾等在旁边看着的都害怕起来。西门豹回头看看大家说："巫婆、乡官都不回来，怎么办？"想再派一个廷掾或者有钱有势的人到河里去催他们。这些人都吓得在地上磕头，而且把头都磕破了，额头上的血流了一地，脸色像死灰一样惨白。西门豹说："好了，暂且留下来再等他们一会儿。"过了一会儿，西门豹说："廷掾可

him another day.” Then he had the soldiers seize the sorceress and throw her into the river. “Why is the sorceress so long in coming?” some time later he remarked. “Let one of her followers go and hurry her up!” Thus another woman was thrown into the river. “Why is her follower so long in coming too?” he added after some time had passed. “Just let another go and hurry her up.” Thus still another woman was thrown into the river, making a total of three. “The sorceress and her followers are all women, no good at making a clear report,” he remarked again. “I’ll trouble the three county chiefs to do that.” Thus the three men were thrown into the river. Ximen, pinning a pen in his hair, bowed low as he stood on the bank and waited with patience. The patriarchs and officials, looking on by his side, were shocked and frightened. But he turned around and said, “What is to be done, now that the sorceresses and the county chiefs have all failed to return?” He was ready to make an assistant of the chiefs and a dignitary follow in their wake when they all kowtowed to him, breaking their foreheads till their blood streamed to the ground, with their complexions as pale as ashes. “Well, let us wait another moment!” But a moment later he said, “You assistants just stand up! Since the river god is so long detaining

【原文】

掾起矣。状河伯留客之久，若皆罢去归矣。”邺吏民大惊恐，从是以后，不敢复言为河伯娶妇。

西门豹即发民凿十二渠，引河水灌民田，田皆溉。当其时，民治渠少烦苦，不欲也。豹曰：“民可以乐成，不可与虑始。今父老子弟虽患苦我，然百岁后期令父老子孙思我言。”至今皆得水利，民人以给足富。十二渠经绝驰道，到汉之立，而长吏以为十二渠桥绝驰道，相比近，不可。欲合渠水，且至驰道合三渠为一桥。邺民人父老不肯听长吏，以为西门君所为也，贤君之法式不可更也。长吏终听置之。故西门豹为邺令，名闻天下，泽流后世，无绝已时，几可谓非贤大夫哉！

【今译】

以起来了。看样子河伯留客要留很久，你们都散了离开这儿回家去吧。”邺县的官吏和老百姓都非常惊恐，从此以后，不敢再提为河伯娶妻的事了。

西门豹接着就发动老百姓开挖了十二条渠道，引黄河水来灌溉农田，田地都得到灌溉。在那时，老百姓开凿渠道感到有些厌烦劳累，就不大愿意。西门豹说：“老百姓可以和他们共同为成功而快乐，不可以和他们一起谋划事情的开始。现在父老子弟虽因此而厌恶我，但可以预期百年以后父老的子孙会想起我今天说过的话。”直到现在邺县都享受着这次兴修水利带来的益处，老百姓因此而自给自足，生活富裕。十二条河渠横穿御道，到汉朝建立时，地方官吏认为十二条河渠上的桥梁截断了御道，彼此相距又很近，这样不行。就想要合并渠道，在水渠临近御道时把三条渠道合在一起架一座桥梁。邺地的百姓不肯听从地方官吏的意见，认为那些渠道是经西门先生规划开凿的，贤良长官的法度规范是不能更改的。地方长官终于听取了大家的意见，放弃了合渠的计划。所以西门豹做邺县令，名闻天下，恩德惠泽后世，没有停止的时候，有谁能说他不是贤能的大夫呢！

his guests, you are dismissed!" The people and the officials of Ye County, being scared out of their wits, thenceforward dared not mention the sacrificial marriage again.

Afterwards, Ximen mobilized the people to dig twelve channels to bring water from the river to irrigate the local land. When they felt somewhat troubled and tired, unwilling to continue the project, he said, "People can rejoice over the success of an undertaking, but they cannot be reasoned into giving it approval at the beginning. Though you folks may hate me for causing you troubles, after a century your progeny is sure to think of my words today." The benefits of the irrigation are in evidence up to now, and the people have lived in plenty as a result. Since the twelve channels cut across the royal drive and lay in close proximity to each other, after the advent of the Han dynasty the authorities considered this impermissible and intended to effect a merge of the channels and build one aqueduct for every three of them at the point of their crossing the royal drive. The folks of Ye County refused to listen to the authorities, thinking that the project was designed by Ximen Bao and a thing established by a sagacious statesman brooked no change. And the authorities eventually complied with their position. Thus Ximen Bao as magistrate of Ye County was famed throughout the country. With his beneficence affecting countless future generations, could he not be regarded as a sagacious statesman?

(*Translated by Xie Baikui*)

马援

诫兄子严敦书

【原文】

吾欲汝曹闻人过失，如闻父母之名，耳可得闻，口不可得言也。好议论人长短，妄是非正法，此吾所大恶也。宁死不愿闻子孙有此行也。汝曹知吾恶之甚矣，所以复言者，施衿结褵，申父母之戒，欲使汝曹不忘之耳。

龙伯高敦厚周慎，口无择言，谦约节俭，廉公有威。吾爱之重之，愿汝曹效之。杜季良豪侠好义，忧人之忧，乐人之乐，清浊无所失。父丧致客，数郡毕至。吾爱之重之，不愿汝曹效也。效伯高不得，犹为谨敕之士，所谓刻鹄不成尚类鹜者也。效季良不得，陷为天下轻薄

大中华文库

【今译】

我希望你们听说了别人的过失，像听见了父母的名字，耳朵可以听，但口中不可以议论。喜欢议论别人的长处和短处，胡乱评论朝廷的法度，这些都是我最深恶痛绝的。我宁可死也不希望自己的子孙有这种行为。你们知道我非常厌恶这种行径，所以我一再强调，就像女儿在出嫁前，父母一再告诫的一样，是希望你们牢记不忘。

龙伯高诚朴宽厚、周密谨慎，说出的话都合乎道理，没有什么可以指责的，谦慎检束，节约俭省，清廉公正，待人又不失威严。我爱护他，敬重他，希望你们向他学习。杜季良豪迈讲义气，把别人的忧愁当作自己的忧愁，把别人的快乐当作自己的快乐，无论什么人都能结交。他父亲去世时来了很多人，好几个郡县的人都来了。我爱护他，敬重他，但不希望你们向他学习。学习龙伯高不成功，还可以成为谨慎自饬的人，就是所说的刻鹄不成尚且像鹜。而学习杜季良不成功，就成了纨

Ma Yuan

Letter to His Nephews Ma Yan and Ma Dun

It is my desire that when you two hear of any offence committed by somebody you should act as if you had heard the tabooed name of one of your parents, that is, your ears can hear it but your mouth cannot utter it. The fondness for discussing other people's weaknesses, the groundless criticism of proper authority, these are things which I greatly detest, and I would rather die than hear junior members of my family behaving like that. You know how much I detest these things, so my reiteration is like the repeated remonstrances made to the bride by her parents while she is dressing for her wedding. I just want to make sure that you do not forget these things.

Long Bogao is honest, sincere, and discreet. No words of prejudicial discrimination ever come out of his mouth. He is modest and frugal, morally pure and thrifty, incorrupt and just. He inspires awe. I love and esteem him, and want you to take him as a model. Du Jiliang is a courageous man, a great righter of wrongs. He shares other people's sorrows and joys. No matter whether people are pure or corrupt, he shows no preference for either, and associates with all and sundry. So everybody came to his father's funeral, from several commanderies. I love and esteem him, but I do not want you to take him as a model. If you try to model yourselves after Long Bogao and fail, you can still be discreet and well-behaved, as the saying illustrates: "If you do not succeed in sculpting a swan, the result will still look like a duck." But if you try to model yourselves after Du Jiliang and fail, you will have the misfortune of sinking

【原文】

子，所谓画虎不成反类狗者也。讫今季良尚未可知，郡将下车辄切齿，州郡以为言，吾常为寒心，是以不愿子孙效也。

【今译】

绔子弟，就是所说的画虎不成反倒像狗了。到现今杜季良究竟怎样还不知道，郡守到任就表示怨恨，州郡百姓都有怨言，我常常为他寒心，这就是我不希望子孙向他学习的原因了。

to the level of notorious playboys, as another saying illustrates: "If you try to paint a tiger and fail, the picture will look like a dog." So far, one cannot know what kind of a man Du Jiliang will turn out to be. Throughout the commandery, whenever he is about to alight from his carriage, people always grind their teeth. This has become proverbial in the regions and commanderies; it is a matter of constant anxiety for me. That is why I do not want the junior members of my family to take him as a model.

(*Translated by Hans Frankel*)

王充

问孔篇（节选）

【原文】

世儒学者，好信师而是古，以为贤圣所言皆无非；专精讲习，不知难问。夫贤圣下笔造文，用意详审，尚未可谓尽得实，况仓卒吐言，安能皆是？不能皆是，时人不知难；或是，而意沉难见，时人不知问。案贤圣之言，上下多相违；其文，前后多相伐者。世之学者，不能知也。

论者皆云：“孔门之徒，七十子之才，胜今之儒。”此言妄也。彼见孔子为师，圣人传道，必授异才，故谓之殊。夫古人之才，今人之才也。今谓之英杰，古以为圣神，故谓七十子历世希有。

【今译】

世上崇尚儒家学说的人，都很信奉老师以古训为是，认为先贤圣人所说的都没有错；专心致志讲议研习，不知道提出疑问。先贤圣人下笔写文章，立意周详审慎，还不能说全部都很详实了，况且仓促间嘴上说出的话，怎么能都是对的呢？不能都对，可现在的世人却不知道提出疑问；即使有的是对的，可意思隐晦难以读懂，现在的人也不知道问明白。考察先贤圣人的话，上下多有相悖；他们的文章，前后也多有矛盾的地方。现在研读的人，却不能明白这一点啊。

谈论的人都说：“孔子门下的弟子，七十人的才华，超过今天的儒生。”这话说得不对。他们看孔子做这些人的老师，就认为圣人传授学说一定要授给有才能的人，所以说这些人与众不同。古人的才华，跟今人的才华一样。现在所说的才智杰出的人，古代也被称为圣人，所以说七十个弟子是历代都少有的。

Wang Chong

Confucianism (excerpt)

The Confucianists of the present day have great faith in their Master and accept antiquity as the standard of right. They strain every nerve to explain and practice the words which are attributed to their sages and inspired men. The writings, however, of these sages and inspired men, over which much thought and research have been spent, cannot be said to be infallibly true; how much less, then, can their casual utterances be so? But although their utterances are not true, people generally do not know how to convict them; and even if their utterances were true, because of the difficulty of grasping abstruse ideas, people generally would not know how to criticize them. I find that the words of these sages and inspired men are often contradictory, the value of one passage being frequently destroyed by the language of a later passage; but the scholars of our day do not see this.

It is invariably said that the seventy disciples of Confucius were superior in talent to the Confucian scholars of today; but this is nonsense. According to that view, Confucius was a Master, and the inspired men who preached his doctrines must have been exceptionally gifted, and therefore different from our scholars. The fact is that there is no difference. Those whom we now call men of genius, the ancients called inspired or divine beings; and therefore it has been said that men like the seventy disciples have rarely been heard of since that time.

(*Translated by Herbert A. Giles*)

马第伯

封禅仪记：泰山

【原文】

车驾正月二十八日发雒阳宫，二月九日到鲁，遣守谒者郭坚伯将徒五百人治泰山道。十日，鲁遣宗室诸刘及孔氏、瑕丘丁氏上寿受赐，皆诣孔氏宅，赐酒肉。十一日发，十二日宿奉高。是日遣虎贲郎将先上山，三案行。还，益治道徒千人。十五日，始斋。国家居太守府舍，诸王居府中，诸侯在县庭中斋。诸卿、校尉、将军、大夫、黄门郎、百官及宋公、卫公、褒城侯、东方诸侯、雒中小侯斋城外汶水上。太尉、太常斋山虞。

马第伯自云，某等七十人先之山虞，观祭山坛及故明堂，宫郎官等郊肆处。入其幕府，观治石。石二枚，状博平，圆九尺，此坛上石

【今译】

皇帝封禅的车马于正月二十八日从洛阳出发，二月九日到达山东东部的曲阜，皇帝派地方官郭坚伯率领五百人去修整上泰山的道路。十日，在曲阜的皇家宗族、孔氏及瑕丘丁姓后人给皇上祝寿接受赏赐，都集中在孔氏家中，受赐酒肉。十一日出发，十二日住在奉高。当天，就派遣虎贲郎将先行上山，反复巡视登山道路。返回后，又增派千人修整山路。十五日，开始斋戒。皇帝在太守官邸斋戒，诸王贵族在太守府中斋戒，诸侯在县令的官署斋戒。诸位大臣、校尉、将军、大夫、黄门郎、百官及宋公、卫公、褒城侯、东方诸侯、雒中小侯在城外汶水边斋戒。太尉、太常在掌管山林的官署斋戒。

马第伯自己说，我们一行七十人先到掌管泰山山林官员处，视察祭山神坛、旧明堂等地。然后进入其官署，查看整治封禅用的石头。有两块石头，形状宽大而平整，周圆九尺，是祭坛上用的。另有一块

From *A Record of the Feng and Shan Sacrifices*: The Supreme Mountain

The imperial carriage departed the palace in Lo-yang[1] on the twenty-eighth day of the first month [March 3]. On the ninth day of the second month [March 14], it reached the Commandery of Lu.[2] The Probationary Receptionist Kuo Chien-po[3] was dispatched with five hundred penal workers to prepare the way to the Supreme Mountain. On the tenth day [March 15], the Commandery of Lu dispatched members of the Liu and K'ung clans and members of the Ting clan of Hsia-ch'iu[4] to offer up birthday greetings, for which they received gifts. All paid a visit to the K'ung Mansion, where they were treated to a feast by the Emperor. Everyone departed on the eleventh [March 16]. On the twelfth [March 17], the night was spent at Feng-kao.[5] On this day, a Court Gentleman Brave as a Tiger[6] was dispatched to ascend the mountain in advance to inspect conditions. He returned and another thousand penal workers were added to repair the road. On the fifteenth [March 20], the fast of purification began. His Majesty stayed at the Governor's Mansion, the imperial princes stayed at the Prefectural Office, and the nobles stayed at the District Office – all held fasts of purification. The Chamberlains, Commandants, Generals, Grandees, Gentlemen of the Palace Gates, the other officials, the Duke of Sung, the Duke of Wei, the Marquis of Pao-ch'eng, various nobles from the eastern regions, and various lesser nobles from Lo-yang partook of the fast outside the city by the Wen River. The Defender-in-chief and the Chamberlain for Ceremonials fasted at the Headquarters of the Supervisor of Forestry and Hunting.

I, Ma Ti-po, along with seventy others, first reached the Headquarters of the Supervisor of Forestry and Hunting to inspect the altar to the mountain

【原文】

也。其一石，武帝时石也。时用五车不能上也，因置山下为屋，号五车石。四维距石长丈二，广二尺，厚尺半所，四枚。检石长三尺，广六寸，状如封箧。长检十枚。一纪号石，高丈二尺，广三尺，厚尺二寸，名曰立石。一枚，刻文字，纪功德。

是朝上山骑行，往往道峻峭，下骑，步牵马，乍步乍骑，且相半，至中观留马。去平地二十里，南向极望无不睹。仰望天关，如从谷底仰观抗峰。其为高也，如视浮云。其峻也，石壁窅窱，如无道径。遥望其人，端如行朽兀，或为白石，或雪，久之，白者移过树，乃知是人也。殊不可上，四布僵卧石上，有顷复苏。亦赖赍酒脯，处处有泉

【今译】

石头，是汉武帝时期的。当时用五辆车都运不上去，因而弃置在山下盖了一间石屋，人们称它为“五车石”。石屋四角的石柱长一丈二尺，宽二尺，厚约一尺半，共有四块。用以封闭玉检的石条长三尺，宽六寸，形状像密封的盒子。长检石有十块。还有一块用来题写的石头，高一丈二尺，宽三尺，厚一尺二寸，名为“立石”。还有一块石头，用来刻文字，记述皇帝的功德。

这天一大早我们便开始骑马登山，处处道路险峻，需要下马，牵着马步行，如此一会儿骑马一会儿步行，走了一半的路程，到中观时把马留下。中观离山下有二十里，站在中观向南远望，景色尽收眼底。仰望天门，好像从山谷底部仰视高峰。天门之高，如在浮云中。它险峻极了，两侧石壁幽深，仿佛无路可行。远看山顶上的人，端然不动像棵枯树，又像是白色的石头或白雪，过了许久发现白色的东西移动穿过树木，才知道原来是人。山路崎岖实在无法攀登，四散僵直地躺在路旁的巨石上，过了一会儿才缓过劲来。幸好带有酒肉，山涧中处处有泉水，使人耳目一新。又勉强相互搀扶着攀登，终于登上了天关，自以为已经到达山顶了，问问路上的行人，说还有十余里路程。天关

and the ancient Hall of Enlightened Rule, where the Court Gentlemen and others were to offer up sacrifices. We entered the Headquarters and observed the stones installed there. There are two stones, broad and flat, nine feet in circumference. They were meant to be placed at the site of the actual altar. One of these stones was from the time of Emperor Wu.[7] At that time, five carts were used but could not move it up the mountain, so it was placed at the foot and a building was erected over it—it is called the "Five-carts Stone." Boulders supporting the four corners are about twelve feet in length, two feet wide, and one and a half feet thick. There are four stone containers each three feet long, six inches wide, and shaped like sealed boxes. There are ten long containers. There is an inscribed stele twelve feet tall, three feet wide, and one foot, two inches thick--this is called the "Erected Stone." On one side is engraved a record of meritorious achievements.

On this morning [March 17],[8] we ascended the mountain on horseback. Frequently, where the road grew steep and precipitous, we dismounted and led our horses on foot. Sometimes we walked and sometimes we rode, roughly in equal amounts. We arrived at the Midway Temple[9] where we left our horses, a distance of seven miles from flat ground. Along the southern vista nothing escaped our view. Looking up at the Celestial Pass[10] was like contemplating an eminent peak from the bottom of a valley. Its height felt as if I were observing the floating clouds; as for its precipitousness, its rock walls stretched into the remote distance—no road seemed to lead there. When I cast my gaze toward the people there, they seemed to be climbing up on poles. Someone thought they were white rocks; another, that they were patches of snow. After a while, the "white" things moved past the trees and we realized that they were people. We could barely make the climb. I had to spread out my four limbs and lay down on a rock. But after a while I felt revived, thanks also to the wine and food brought along. There were springs everywhere, which were always an inspiring sight for the eyes. In this manner we persevered, helping each other along. When we arrived at the Celestial Pass, I thought I had already reached the top. But when I asked someone on the path, he said that it was still more than three miles farther. The path between the rock walls was eight or nine

【原文】

水，目辄为之明。复勉强相将行，到天关，自以已至也，问道中人，言尚十余里。其道旁山胁，大者广八九尺，狭者五六尺。仰视岩石松树，郁郁苍苍，若在云中。俯视溪谷，碌碌不可见丈尺。遂至天门之下。仰视天门，窔辽如从穴中视天。直上七里，赖其羊肠逶迤，名曰环道，往往有絙索，可得而登也。两从者扶挟，前人相牵，后人见前人履底，前人见后人顶，如画重累人矣，所谓磨胸捏石，扪天之难也。初上此道，行十余步一休，稍疲，咽唇燋，五六步一休。牒牒据顿，地不避湿暗，前有燥地，目视而两脚不随。

早食上，晡后到天门。郭使者得铜物。铜物形状如钟，又方柄有孔，莫能识，疑封禅具也。得之者汝南召陵人，姓杨名通。东上一里余，得木甲。木甲者，武帝时神也。东北百余步，得封所，始皇立石

【今译】

两侧山崖相逼，中间最宽的地方才八九尺，狭窄的地方仅五六尺。抬头仰视两侧岩石上的松树，郁郁葱葱，仿佛高在云中。俯视两山之间的溪谷，山石颇多，深不见底。于是走到天门之下。仰视天门，幽深遥远好像是从洞穴的底部仰望蓝天一样。这一段路垂直陡峭，长达七里，幸而羊肠小径逶迤曲折其间，人们称为环道，道边处处牵以绳索，揽绳索可以攀登。两位随从扶持着，前边的人拉着向上爬，后人可见前人的鞋底，前人则见后人的头顶，仿佛画中人人相叠的景象一样，真可谓是胸蹭着巨石手扶着巨石，像登天一样难啊。刚刚登上这条道时，走十几步休息一次，随后稍感劳累，唇焦舌燥，每五六步就休息一次。我们缓慢前行，不时以手扶地，常常踩在山涧的流水里，眼看着前边有干燥地方，可两只脚就是无法走正。

早饭之后开始登山，到下午才到天门。郭坚伯的部下在山上发现一具铜器。铜器形状像钟，又有方柄，有孔，没有人知道是什么东西，怀疑是过去封禅的礼器。发现这个铜器的人是汝南召陵人，叫杨通。往东上行一里左右，又遇到木甲。木甲，是汉武帝时封的神。再向东北走百多步，就是封禅祭天的地方，秦始皇的立石和石碑坊在封禅坛

feet at the widest and five or six feet at the narrowest. I peered up at the cliffs, where the pines were flourishing and viridian—they seemed to be amidst the clouds. When I peered down at the streams in the valleys, they were so minute that I could hardly discern them. Then we arrived just below the Celestial Gate. When I peered up at it, it seemed as if I were looking at the sky from inside a cave. We went another two and a half miles straight upward. The path was convoluted, winding its way around, so it is called Circle Path. Often, there were ropes to grasp hold of as we climbed. Two assistants supported me as another in front pulled me up. Those in back could see only the soles of the sandals of the ones in front, while those in front could see only the tops of the heads of those in back—it looked like a picture of a stack of men. This is what people mean by "as difficult as scraping one's chest and grasping hold of the rock in order to touch Heaven." When we began to climb up this path, we had to stop and rest every ten paces or so. As we became exhausted, our throats and lips grew parched, and we rested every five or six paces. We shuffled along, first upright, then crawling. The dank and dark places on the ground were unavoidable. When there was a dry area ahead, our eyes could see it, but our feet would not follow.

We began to climb up after breakfast and reached the Celestial Gate after the hours of *pu* [3:00 PM–5:00 PM]. The emissary, Kuo,[11] came across a bronze vessel. The bronze vessel resembled a wine goblet in shape. It also had squared handles with holes in them. We couldn't identify what it was and assumed it was an object used in previous sacrifices. Yang T'ung of Chao-ling in Ju-nan took it.[12] I climbed almost half a mile to the east and came across a wooden image. The image was a god from the time of Emperor Wu. More than a hundred paces to the northeast, we came upon the site for the feng and shan sacrifices. The First Emperor of Ch'in had erected a stele and a stone entrance in the southern part of the area.[13] More than twenty paces north of this, Emperor Wu established a circular terrace facing north, nine feet high and about thirty feet square in area. There are two sets of stairs, which no one is permitted to climb besides the Emperor. We climbed up the eastern stairs to where there is an altar on the top of the terrace about twelve feet square. On top of this is a square stone

【原文】

及阙在南方，汉武在其北。二十余步得北垂圆台，高九尺，方圆三丈所，有两陛。人不得从，上从东陛上。台上有坛，方一丈二尺所，上有方石，四维有距石，四面有阙。向坛再拜谒，人多置钱物坛上，亦不扫除。国家上见之，则诏书所谓酢梨酸枣狼藉，散钱处数百，币帛具，道是武帝封禅至泰山下，未及上，百官为先上跪拜，置梨枣钱于道以求福，即此也。

东山名曰日观，日观者，鸡一鸣时，见日始欲出，长三丈所。秦观者望见长安，吴观者望见会稽，周观者望见嵩山。北有石室。坛以南有玉盘，中有玉龟。山南胁神泉，饮之极清美利人。

日入下去，行数环。日暮时颇雨，不见其道，一人居其前，先知蹈有人，乃举足随之。比至天门下，夜人定矣。

【今译】

的南边，汉武帝的立石在封禅坛的北边。距封禅坛二十余步是北边的圆台，台高九尺，方圆大约三丈，有东西两面台阶。官员不能登此台，只有皇帝能从东边的台阶登上。台上有个祭坛，大概一丈二尺见方，上面有一块方石，方石四角有石柱支撑，方石四边有石阙。向祭坛行礼参拜，人们都把钱物放在坛上，也不扫走。光武帝上坛见到历来人们放置的钱物，就下诏书说醋梨酸枣遍坛皆是，散置的钱、帛也很多，相传汉武帝封禅泰山时，还没有上山，大臣们先上山跪拜，把梨、枣、钱放在路上用来求福，就是这样了。

东边的山峰叫日观峰，在日观峰，鸡刚鸣叫时，就能见到刚刚要升起的太阳，有三丈多长。在秦观峰能望见长安，在吴观峰能望见会稽，在周观峰能望见嵩山。山北有石室。坛南面有玉盘，盘中有玉龟。山南有胁神泉，喝起来极为清醇甘洌。

太阳落山后才开始下山，沿着环道走了几圈。太阳要落山时开始下雨，看不见前面的道路了，只好派一人在前引路，前边的人有脚步声，后边的人才举步相随。等到到了天门之下，已经夜深人静了。

supported by boulders at all four corners. On all four sides are platforms. We bowed down thrice before the altar. Visitors had placed considerable amounts of money and other things on the altar, and these had never been cleared away. Later, when His Majesty[14] mounted the altar, he saw this and inquired concerning the decayed pears and rotten dates strewn about, the hundreds of coins scattered around, and the strips of silk currency all along the path. The Emperor demanded an explanation, and the official in charge replied, "When Emperor Wu arrived at the foot of the Supreme Mountain to offer up the feng and shan sacrifices, before he ascended, all the officials first ascended and performed obeisance. Then they placed pears, dates, and money along the path to summon blessings—this is what they are."

We climbed farther east about three miles on the Supreme Mountain to the summit southeast of the Celestial Gate. This is called "Sunrise Vista." Sunrise Vista is where one can see the sun as it first appears, as soon as the cock crows. The place is about thirty feet long. From Ch'in Vista, one can look toward Ch'ang-an; from Wu Vista, one can look toward Kuei-chi; from Chou Vista, one can look toward the Songshan Mount.[15] Northwest is a rock chamber. South of the altar is a jade basin with a jade tortoise in the middle. On the southern flank of the mountain is a sacred spring. When I drank from it, I found it extremely pure and refreshing.

At dusk, we descended, leaving by way of the Circle Path again. By nightfall, there was a fair amount of rain and we could no longer distinguish the path. One man had proceeded ahead. We felt with our feet where the person in front of us had trod before following. By the time we reached the Celestial Gate, it was in the deep of night.

(*Translated by Richard E. Strassberg*)

傅毅

舞赋

【原文】

楚襄王既游云梦，使宋玉赋高唐之事。将置酒宴饮，谓宋玉曰："寡人欲觞群臣，何以娱之？"玉曰："臣闻歌以咏言，舞以尽意。是以论其诗不如听其声，听其声不如察其形。《激楚》、《结风》、《阳阿》之舞，材人之穷观，天下之至妙。噫，可以进乎？"王曰："如其郑何？"玉曰："小大殊用，郑雅异宜，弛张之度，圣哲所施。是以《乐》记干戚之容，《雅》美蹲蹲之舞，《礼》设三爵之制，《颂》有醉归之歌。夫《咸池》、《六英》，所以陈清庙、协神人也；郑、卫之乐，所以娱密坐、接欢欣也。余日怡荡，非以风民也，其何害哉！"王曰："试为寡人赋之。"玉曰："唯唯。"

【今译】

楚襄王到云梦泽游玩后，让宋玉就巡游高唐观之事作赋。将要设置酒席宴饮时，楚襄王对宋玉说："我想与群臣喝酒，用什么助兴呢？"宋玉说："我听说通过咏唱能突出诗的意义，舞蹈能体现心意。所以谈论诗词不如用歌声唱出来，听声音不如看舞蹈表演。《激楚》、《结风》、《阳阿》这些舞蹈，跳舞的材人们技艺高超，是天下最为美妙的了。啊，可以以这些作赋吗？"楚襄王说："像郑音那样的俗音怎么办？"宋玉说："小的大的各有不同的作用，郑音雅音也各不相同，张弛有度，是圣明的哲人所施行的。所以《乐记》记载的是武士之舞，《诗经·小雅》记载的是美妙的舞姿，《礼记》规定了饮酒以三杯为限的制度，《诗经·鲁颂》里有醉酒而归的歌。所以《咸池》、《六英》这样的乐曲，是用于宗庙祭祀、实现神、人和谐的；郑、卫两国的乐曲，就用于大家坐在一起娱乐的非正式场合了。处理政事之余暇纵情欢乐，又不是来教化民众的，有什么害处呢！"楚襄王说："那就试着为本王作赋吧。"宋玉说："是是。"

Rhapsody on Dance

After King Xiang had toured the Yunmeng park,[1] he had Song Yu rhapsodize on the events of Gaotang.[2] He had prepared a banquet and was about to begin feasting and drinking, when he said to Song Yu, "I would like to entertain all of my courtiers. What can I use to amuse them?" Song Yu replied, "I have heard that song is used to intone words,[3] and dance is used to give full expression to meaning. Thus, discoursing on a song cannot compare with hearing its sounds, and hearing its sounds cannot compare with observing its outer manifestation.[4] The dances of 'Turbulent Chu,' 'Binding Wind,' and 'Sunny Bank'[5] are the grandest spectacles of the female talents,[6] and are the greatest wonders of the empire. I wonder, could these be presented?" The king said, "How about the music of Zheng?" Song Yu said, "The lesser and greater are put to different uses. The Zheng and the 'Elegantiae' are appropriate for different occasions. Laxness and tautness were measures applied by the sage and wise.[7] Thus, the *Book of Music* records the gestures of the 'Axe-and-Shield,'[8] the 'Elegantiae' praises the dancing of 'graceful stepping,'[9] the *Records of Rites* sets forth rules for the three toasts,[10] and the 'Eulogia' has a song about returning drunk.[11] 'All-encompassing Pond' and 'Six Blossoms' are for display in the ancestral temple and harmonizing spirits and man.[12] The music of Zheng and Wei is for the purpose of entertaining a group of guests and providing pleasure and joy. Pleasant dissipation on idle days may not be for the purpose of instructing the people, but what harm does it do?" The king said, "Please try to rhapsodize on this for me." Song Yu said, "Very well."

【原文】

夫何皎皎之闲夜兮，
明月烂以施光。
朱火晔其延起兮，
耀华屋而熺洞房。
黼帐袪而结组兮，
铺首炳以焜煌。
陈茵席而设坐兮，
溢金罍而列玉觞。
腾觚爵之斟酌兮，
漫既醉其乐康。
严颜和而怡怿兮，
幽情形而外扬。
文人不能怀其藻兮，
武毅不能隐其刚。
简惰跳踃，
般纷挐兮。
渊塞沉荡，
改恒常兮。

于是郑女出进，
二八徐侍。
姣服极丽，
姁媮致态。
貌嫽妙以妖蛊兮，
红颜晔其扬华。
眉连娟以增绕兮，

【今译】

怎样明月皎皎的寂静的夜晚啊，
月光明亮洒向大地。
光明灿烂的烛火慢慢亮起啊，
照耀华丽的房屋和深邃的内室。
将布满花纹的帷帐用丝带结起啊，
门上的衔环兽面闪闪发光。
铺设好有垫褥的座位啊，
注满金色的酒器，摆好玉制的酒杯。
推杯换盏地畅饮啊，
已有醉意，其乐融融。
严肃的面孔也充满喜悦啊，
内心深处的情怀袒露在外。
文人不能按捺其文采啊，
武将不能隐藏其刚勇。
懒洋洋地挪动舞步，
彼此手拉着手啊。
笃实深厚沉醉放荡，
一反常态啊。

这时郑女出来献舞，
十六人着同样的服饰分成两队缓缓起舞。
舞服华丽，
姿态和悦美好。
容貌俊俏艳丽迷人啊，
美丽的容颜光彩焕发。
眉毛细长而又弯曲啊，

I

On this quiet night so bright and clcar,
The moon shines down, spreading its light.
Long rows of vermilion torehes, blazing forth,
Light up ornate rooms, illumine secluded chambers.
Embroidcrcd curtains, tied with sashes, are drawn open;
Door knockers flare with glaring glitter.
Cushions and mats are spread, scats arranged;
Bronze wine jars are filled, jade goblets are put in place.
Beakers and cups, brimming full, are passed around;
Once drunk, everyone feels happiness and joy.
Solemn faccs turn pleasant and cheerful;
Dccp-held feelings eome forth, outwardly expressed.
The man of letters eannot withhold his artistry;
Thc intrcpid warrior eannot hide his bravery.
Lazily, idly, they begin to danee,
Joyfully frolicking hand in hand.
Deep indeed is their wild abandon,
How different from their normal reserve!

II

And then, maidens from Zheng present themselves;
Stepping slowly in doublc lines of cight, thcy attcnd thcir lord.

Thcir lovely garments arc thc ultimate in beauty;
Pleasant and cheerful, perfeet is their demeanor.
Thcir features, so comely and fair, are bewitching;
Their rosy faces, radiant, resplendently glow.
Their eyebrows, drawn delieate and fine, form repcatcd curvcs;

【原文】

目流睇而横波。
珠翠的皪而炤耀兮，
华袿飞髾而杂纤罗。
顾形影，
自整装。
顺微风，
挥若芳。
动朱唇，
纡清阳。
亢音高歌为乐之方。

歌曰：
“摅予意以弘观兮，
绎精灵之所束。
弛紧急之弦张兮，
慢末事之委曲。
舒恢炱之广度兮，
阔细体之苛缛。
嘉《关雎》之不淫兮，
哀《蟋蟀》之局促。
启泰真之否隔兮，
超遗物而度俗。”
扬《激徵》，
骋《清角》。
赞舞操，
奏均曲。
形态和，

【今译】

眼波流动传情。
珠翠闪烁光辉四射啊，
华丽的衣裙装饰着美丽的燕尾。
回望身影，
自己整理衣装。
微风袭来，
散发着杜若的芳香。
启动朱唇，
挑起眉毛。
完美的歌声随音乐响起。

歌里唱道：
“抒发心意放眼看去啊，
放开精神的束缚。
放松上紧的琴弦啊，
不必理会逢迎的歌舞。
要抒发广阔的心胸啊，
摆脱繁杂细节的羁绊。
赞美《关雎》的清新不淫啊，
悲叹《蟋蟀》的意境狭窄。
打开阴阳之气的阻塞啊，
超脱于世俗之外。”
激扬《激徵》的曲调，
演奏《清角》的乐音。
赞美伴舞的琴曲，
弹奏均曲雅音。
形体合着乐曲，

Their eyes, rolling and glancing, are like flowing waves.
Pearls and kingfisher plumes glisten and glitter;
Colored jackets with flying sashes are adorned with dainty gauze.
Looking back at the shadows cast by their forms,
They straighten and adjust their clothes.
With every puff of a gentle breeze,
They send forth the sweet scent of pollia.
Parting their vermilion lips,
Furrowing their clear brows,
They open their throats and sing aloud,
All in accord with musical rules.

III

The song goes:
"I dispel my thoughts, broaden my vision,
Release the bonds that confine my soul,
Loosen the tightly stretched strings,
And spurn the bends and twists of petty affairs,
Expanding my scope even broader and wider,
Removing myself from trifling troubles.
I praise the absence of licentious conduct in 'The Osprey,'
And sorrow at the narrow vision of 'The Cricket.'
Opening the blockage in Grand Reality,
Rising on high, I leave everything behind and transcend the world."
Then, striking up "Ardent Zhi,"
And sounding forth "Clear Jiao,"
Accompanied by a dance rhythm,
They perform a melodic tune.
Form and gestures are graceful and smooth,

【原文】	【今译】
神意协。	神态表达情意。
从容得，	悠闲舒缓，
志不劫。	心志安定。
于是蹑节鼓陈，	这时合着音乐的节拍击鼓，
舒意自广。	抒发胸臆更加奔放。
游心无垠，	思绪漫无边际，
远思长想。	随着音乐沉思遐想。
其始兴也，	刚开始时，
若俯若仰，	起伏交错，
若来若往。	往来穿梭。
雍容惆怅，	舞姿舒展大方，
不可为象。	美得无以名状。
其少进也，	舞了一段后，
若翱若行，	似飞翔似前行，
若竦若倾。	跳跃俯仰交替。
兀动赴度，	动作迎合着节拍，
指顾应声。	手指目盼与乐曲相和。
罗衣从风，	丝制的舞衣随风飘舞，
长袖交横。	长袖交错起舞。
骆驿飞散，	上下翻飞，
飒擖合并。	曲折盘旋，与乐曲的节拍相应。
鶣飘燕居，	轻盈漫步像燕子伏巢，
拉揩鹄惊。	忽又振臂而起似鹄鸟惊飞。
绰约闲靡，	姿态优美从容，
机迅体轻。	敏捷而轻盈。
姿绝伦之妙态，	姿色美妙绝伦，
怀悫素之絜清。	胸怀朴实纯洁。

Spirit and mood are in perfeet harmony.
All is done with effortless ease,
And nothing perturbs their minds.

IV

And then, the dancers step to the beat of outspread drums,
Their mood relaxed and earefree.
They let their minds wander in the boundless,
Yearning for the distant, eontemplating the far away.
When they first begin:
They seem to be looking up, yet looking down,
They seem to be arriving, yet departing.
They are calm and eomposed, yet sad and sorrowful.
They simply eannot be described.
Advancing slightly:
They seem to be flying, yet walking,
They seem to be standing, yet falling.
Still or moving, they follow the beat;
Their gestures and glances aceord with the tune.
Gossamer gowns blow in the breeze,
Long sleeves tangle and twine together.
On and on, unceasing, they flit about,
Whirling and twirling together with the musie.
They flutter about like hovering swallows,
And soar into the air like startled swans.
Comely and graeeful, dignified and fair,
They are nimble and quiek, light of form.
Their demeanor is fine beyond compare,
And their hearts are true and pure.

【原文】	【今译】
修仪操以显志兮，	修炼仪容操守以显露志向啊，
独驰思乎杳冥。	独自遐想直至深远之处。
在山峨峨，	想到高山便有巍峨高山之势，
在水汤汤。	想到流水便有坦荡的流水之情。
与志迁化，	表情随心志变化，
容不虚生。	没有一点虚假和多余。
明诗表指，	用舞姿来表达诗的主旨，
喟息激昂。	或喟然长叹或激厉抗扬。
气若浮云，	气息如浮云，
志如秋霜。	心志如秋霜。
观者增叹，	观看的人不时赞叹，
诸工莫当。	乐师们也无人能比。
于是合场递进，	这时众舞者鱼贯进入，
按次而俟。	依次站立等候。
埒材角妙，	比技艺比巧妙，
夸容乃理。	比容颜装饰。
轶态横出，	仪态万千，
瑰姿谲起。	舞姿美妙奇异。
眄般鼓则腾清眸，	跳般鼓舞则明眸善睐，
吐哇咬则发皓齿。	唱歌则露出洁白的牙齿。
摘齐行列，	排列整齐，
经营切拟。	往来舞姿有所比拟。
仿佛神动，	仿佛神仙舞动，
回翔竦峙。	或回旋反复或静静而立。
击不致策，	击打拍子快得像没碰到板子，
蹈不顿趾。	用脚踏地快得像没有停顿。

They cultivate virtuous conduct to make known their good intent,
And they let their hearts race alone into the distant darkness.
When their thoughts are on mountains, the dancing seems "tall and stately;"
When their hearts are with water, it seems "full and flowing."
Their movements shift and change with their mood,
And no gesture is done without purpose:
They interpret the song and express its meaning,
First with heavy sighs, then with spirited excitement.
Their spirit is like floating clouds,
Their mood is like autumn frost.
Those who view it gasp in wonder,
For such performers are beyond compare.

V

And then, the full ensemble comes forth,
One after another, each dancer waiting her turn.
They vie in displaying talent, in showing skill,
And their beautiful faces are all adorned.
Splendid poses are continuously born,
Magnificent postures wondrously appear.
Gazing at the plate-drum, they roll their limpid eyes;
Intoning seductive sounds, they flash their glistening teeth.
They even their ranks, order their rows,
To and fro, pressed closely together.
Vaguely they resemble moving spirits,
Soaring in circles, then coming to rest.
The drum does not miss a beat,
And the dancers' feet never seem to touch the ground.

【原文】	【今译】
翼尔悠往，	像鸟儿展翅一样远去，
暗复辍已。	骤然又停下不前。
及至回身还入，	她们回身进去又跳了过来，
迫于急节。	急速跟着节拍。
浮腾累跪，	腾空跳跃，跪了又跪，
跗蹋摩跌。	以足踏地。
纡形赴远，	腰肢弯曲，一会儿伸向远处，
漼似摧折。	一会儿深深弯折。
纤縠蛾飞，	薄纱制成的舞衣像飞蛾一样，
纷猋若绝。	纷纷扬扬渐飞渐远。
超逾鸟集，	腾跃而起像群鸟飞集，
纵弛殟殁。	舒缓下来又松弛自然。
蝼蛇蜿蜿，	队列时而斜行，时而长长游动，
云转飘曶。	像浮云快速飘动。
体如游龙，	体态像游龙，
袖如素蜺。	衣袖如白虹。
黎收而拜，	徐徐收敛容态而拜，
曲度究毕。	乐曲渐渐结束了。
迁延微笑，	微笑着后退，
退复次列。	排好舞列。
观者称丽，	观看的人都说太美丽了，
莫不怡悦。	没有一个不感到喜悦的。
于是欢洽宴夜，	这时欢乐的夜宴结束了，

As if on wing they abruptly depart,
And suddenly the dancing stops.

VI

Then, as they turn about and re-enter the stage,
Urged on by a quickened tempo, they dance:
Now leaping into the air, then dropping to their knees,
Now walking on their toes, then on their heels.
Suddenly twisting their bodies, far off they go,
Bending so supplely they seem about to snap.
Thin gossamer flies like moths,
Fluttering about as if severed from their gowns.
They leap forward like flocking birds,
Then disperse, their pace relaxed and slow.
Dainty and delicate, they turn and twirl,
Rolling like clouds, swift as the wind.
Their bodies are like cavorting dragons,
Their sleeves are like white rainbows.
Slow and solemn, they bow,
And the dance number comes to an end.
Then, pausing briefly, smiling faintly,
They withdraw and return to their places.
The spectators all shout "bravo,"
And nary a one is not delighted.

VII

Then, they revel and feast late into the night,

【原文】	【今译】
命遣诸客。	楚王命令送客。
扰攘就驾，	客人们急匆匆地上了车，
仆夫正策。	马夫拿着马鞭。
车骑并狎，	车骑并驾齐驱，
逸欻逼迫。	紧紧挨在一起拥挤不堪。
良骏逸足，	骏马放开四蹄奔跑，
跄捍凌越。	快速超越。
龙骧横举，	骏马昂首奔驰，
扬镳飞沫。	提起马嚼子则口沫四溅。
马材不同，	马的体力脚力不同，
各相倾夺。	竞相奔跑。
或有逾埃赴辙，	有的越过尘埃追赶上了前面的车辙，
霆骇电灭。	如惊雷闪电。
跖地远群，	马蹄踏地远离马群，
暗跳独绝。	飞驰迅速无与伦比。
或有宛足郁怒，	也有的顿足缓步，含怒停留，
般桓不发。	徘徊不前。
后往先至，	后面的都先到了，
遂为逐末。	就成了最后。
或有矜容爱仪，	有的容仪端正，
洋洋习习。	不紧不慢舒缓和谐。
迟速承意，	快慢都合乎心意，
控御缓急。	任由主人控制缓急。
车音若雷，	车轮的声音像打雷一样，
骛骤相及。	马车一辆接一辆疾驰而去。
骆漠而归，	飞驰着归去，
云散城邑。	城中空如云散。
天王燕胥，	天王共宴饮，

When the host orders the guests to be sent off.
They quiekly dash to their ehariots,
Their eoaehmen steadying the reins.
Chariots and horse-riders, erowded together,
Closely elustered, press and push.
Fine ehargers, with unsurpassed speed,
Swiftly galloping, pass one another,
Praneing like dragons, heads held high,
Straining at their bits, foam spuming from their mouths.
The horses, eaeh with different skill,
Try to overtake eaeh other.
One, outraeing the dust in the dash for the road,
Swift as the shoek of thunder, the flash of lighting,
His hooves pounding the ground, far from the group,
Suddenly leaps ahead, alone and unrivaled.
One, stomping in plaee, filled with fury,
Hesitates, unwilling to set off.
He is the last to depart, but the first to arrive,
And beeomes the objeet of the others' pursuit.
And one, his manner dignified and sedate,
Steps in stately solemnity, in refined harmony,
Moving slow or fast at the driver's will,
His speed completely under eontrol.
The sound of the ehariots is like thunder,
As they gallop by one after another.
Flurrying past in a steady stream, they return home,
Like a bank of elouds suddenly lifting, leaving the eity empty and still.
The heavenly king feasts

【原文】

乐而不泆。
娱神遗老，
永年之术。
优哉游哉，
聊以永日。

【今译】

欢乐却不过分。
心情愉悦忘记了年龄，
乐舞真是长寿的方法。
闲适自得，
聊以消磨漫长的时光。

And is joyful, but not to excess.
Cheering his spirit, and ignoring old age,
Are methods of prolonging his years.
Relaxed and at ease,
He shall spend his days.

(*Translated by David R. Knechtges*)

张衡

思玄赋

【原文】

仰先哲之玄训兮，
虽弥高而弗违。
匪仁里其焉宅兮，
匪义迹其焉追？
潜服膺以永靓兮，
绵日月而不衰。
伊中情之信修兮，
慕古人之贞节。
竦余身而顺止兮，
遵绳墨而不跌。
志团团以应悬兮，
诚心固其如结。
旌性行以制佩兮，
佩夜光与琼枝。
纗幽兰之秋华兮，
又缀之以江蓠。
美襞积以酷裂兮，
允尘邈而难亏。
既姱丽而鲜双兮，
非是时之攸珍。
奋余荣而莫见兮，
播余香而莫闻。

【今译】

景仰先世贤人的道德教诲啊，
虽更高深却不背离。
不是仁者的居所怎么能居住啊，
不是仁义的行为怎么能追随？
暗中铭记在心经常审度啊，
绵连日月而不减。
内心真诚美好啊，
仰慕古人的坚贞操守。
整肃自身顺从礼义啊，
遵循规矩法度没有过错。
心中忧苦不安像悬挂的旌旗啊，
诚心坚定不可松动。
彰显德行制成玉佩啊，
佩戴着夜光珠和琼枝。
系上幽兰的秋花啊，
又用江蓠点缀。
用浓烈的香气美化衣褶啊，
确实历久而弥香。
既美丽又独一无二啊，
不只是此时珍贵。
振动我所佩戴的鲜花没人看见啊，
散播我身上的香气没人闻到。

Rhapsody on Contemplating the Mystery

I

I admire the profound teachings of the former sages;
However lofty they may be, never shall I go against them.
Other than a neighborhood of benevolence, where can one live?
Other than the path of propriety, what can one follow?
Holding them deep in my heart, long do I ponder them;
Through passing days and months my devotion does not flag.
Deep in my soul I remain true and good,
And yearn for the upright integrity of the ancients.
Standing straight and erect, I comply with the norms,
And never stray from the marking-line.
My heart, twisted with grief, is like a fluttering streamer;
Yet my devotion and resolve remain firm as if tightly bound.
I display my virtue and conduct by making girdle pendants;
On them I wear night-glowers and a carnelian branch.
I tie on the autumn blossoms of the thoroughwort,
Fasten to it the fragrant gracilary.
In their multifold beauty the fragrance is strong;
Truly long-lasting, it will not fade.
My raiment is truly fair and without peer,
But it is not prized in this present age.
I scatter my blossoms but no one sees them;
I waft my sweet scent but no one smells it.

【原文】	【今译】
幽独守此仄陋兮，	沉静地独居在这幽隐鄙陋之处啊，
敢怠皇而舍勤？	岂敢懈怠偷闲而舍弃辛劳呢？
幸二八之遻虞兮，	庆幸“八元”、“八恺”遇到明君啊，
嘉傅说之生殷。	赞许重用傅说这样的人。
尚前良之遗风兮，	崇尚前贤遗留下来良好的风尚啊，
恫后辰而无及。	痛心后世不如。
何孤行之茕茕兮，	奈何孤单独行啊，
孑不群而介立？	不合群只能卓异独立？
感鸾鹥之特棲兮，	感慨鸾鹥孤独栖息啊，
悲淑人之稀合。	悲悯贤淑善良的人落落不合群。
彼无合其何伤兮，	那些道不合的人又有什么伤害啊，
患众伪之冒真。	只是忧虑众人的虚伪掩盖了真相。
旦获讟于群弟兮，	周公被群弟诽谤陷害啊，
启金縢而乃信。	开启金带封的柜子才获信任。
览烝民之多僻兮，	民众多乖谬不正啊，
畏立辟以危身。	害怕立法危及自身。
曾烦毒以迷或兮，	更加烦扰迷惑啊，
羌孰可为言己？	可有谁能去倾诉呢？
私湛忧而深怀兮，	内心深深地忧虑啊，
思缤纷而不理。	思绪杂乱没有条理。
愿竭力以守义兮，	但愿能竭力守仁义之道啊，
虽贫穷而不改。	即使贫苦困厄也不改变。
执雕虎而试象兮，	虽然困窘也要尽心竭力啊，
阽焦原而跟止。	紧紧靠近道义。
庶斯奉以周旋兮，	就奉行往来于仁义之途啊，
要既死而后已。	一定到死才停止。

Quiet and content, I abide in this lowly place;
But dare I shirk hard work for idleness and sloth?
I felicitate the Two Eights for meeting Shun,
Rejoice that Fu Yue lived in the time of Yin.
I revere the mores handed down by former worthies,
Sorrow that I am born too late to meet them.
Why do I walk alone in solitude?
Why do I stand apart, cut off from the crowd?
I am moved by the simurgh and phoenix, who nest alone,
And grieve that the good man rarely accords with the world.

II

But why grieve that the good man does not accord with the world?
For the thing to fear is falseness concealing the truth.
Zhou Dan was slandered by his younger brothers;
Only after the metal-bound coffer was opened was he again trusted.
Upon viewing the perfidies of the multitudes,
I am afraid they shall use the law to do me harm.
Vexed and tormented, I am perplexed and confused;
Alas, to whom can I express my plaint?
Gravely worried, I deeply ponder my lot;
My thoughts, tangled and confused, are disordered.
I vow to give my all in preserving propriety;
Although poor and destitute, I shall not change my course.
I shall seize the striped tiger and challenge the elephant;
Approaching Jiaoyuan, I shall stop with my heels at the chasm's edge.
I hope to uphold these principles and apply them everywhere,
Pursuing them relentlessly until I die.

【原文】

俗迁渝而事化兮，
泯规矩之圆方。
珍萧艾于重笥兮，
谓蕙芷之不香。
斥西施而弗御兮，
羁要袅以服箱。
行陂僻而获志兮，
循法度而离殃。
惟天地之无穷兮，
何遭遇之无常！

不抑操而苟容兮，
譬临河而无航。
欲巧笑以干媚兮，
非余心之所尝。
袭温恭之黻衣兮，
披礼义之绣裳。
辫贞亮以为鞶兮，
杂技艺以为珩。
昭彩藻与雕琢兮，
璜声远而弥长。
淹栖迟以恣欲兮，
耀灵忽其西藏。
恃己知而华予兮，
鶗鴂鸣而不芳。
冀一年之三秀兮，
遒白露之为霜。
时亹亹而代序兮，

【今译】

时俗迁移事物变化啊，
泯灭了礼制法度的标准。
把萧艾当作宝贝放进双层竹编的衣箱里啊，
却说蕙草和白芷这样的香草不香。
摒弃西施这样的美女不去宠幸啊，
拴着良马让它去拉大车。
品行不正的人却能志得意满啊，
遵循法度的人却遭受祸害。
思天地之无穷啊，
为什么际遇变化不定！

不委屈志节屈从附和以取容于世啊，
就好像过河没有船一样。
想要献媚求宠啊，
不是我的心能接受的。
温和恭敬地穿上有青黑花纹的礼服啊，
穿上彩色的礼服下衣。
编织忠贞诚信用作佩玉的皮带啊，
混合多种技艺做成玉佩。
藻饰与雕刻的花纹光明闪耀啊，
半璧声音悠远漫长。
长期漂泊失意放纵欲望啊，
太阳突然间就西落了。
倚仗自己所知使自己华美啊，
杜鹃一叫使百草不再芳香。
希望灵芝一年开三次花啊，
临近秋天露水已经结成霜。
时光演进时序更替啊，

The world shifts and moves with changing events,
Destroying the round of the compass, the straightness of the square.
It values southernwort and mugwort and stores them in layered boxes,
While they call sweet basil and angelica unfragrant.
They expel Xishi and deprive her of favor;
They harness Yaoniao to draw their carts.
Men of depraved conduct attain their ambitions,
While he who sets norms and standards encounters disaster.
I ponder the infinitude of Heaven and Earth;
How inconstant the fate that one meets!

III

Not compromising one's standards and yet seeking acceptance in the world,
Is like trying to cross a river without a craft.
To court favor by resorting to cunning smiles
Is something my heart cannot bear.
I don the patterned robe of gentility and reverence,
Dress in the embroidered gown of ritual and propriety,
Weave uprightness and clarity for my belt,
Combine skill and learning as my girdle pendants.
Resplendent are their colored patterns and carved designs;
The sounds of my pendant jades carry long and far.
Long do I linger to give free rein to my desires;
But suddenly the Spirit of Brightness hides in the west.
I rely on an understanding friend to adorn me with flowers;
But the cuckoo has called, and flowers have lost their fragrance.
I had hoped for three blooms in one year,
But I was beset by white dew turning to frost.
The seasons inexorably advance, alternating in sequence;

【原文】

畴可与乎比伉？
咨妒嫮之难并兮，
想依韩以流亡。
恐渐冉而无成兮，
留则蔽而不彰。

心犹豫而狐疑兮，
即岐阯而摅情。
文君为我端蓍兮，
利飞遁以保名。
历众山以周流兮，
翼迅风以扬声。
二女感于崇岳兮，
或冰折而不营。
天盖高而为泽兮，
谁云路之不平！
勔自强而不息兮，
蹈玉阶之峣峥。
惧筮氏之长短兮，
钻东龟以观祯。
遇九皋之介鸟兮，
怨素意之不逞。
游尘外而瞥天兮，
据冥翳而哀鸣。
雕鹗竞于贪婪兮，
我修絜以益荣。
子有故于玄鸟兮，
归母氏而后宁。

【今译】

谁能成为志同道合的朋友呢？
感叹恶与善难以并存啊，
想跟从韩众去远游。
恐怕时光渐渐流逝却无所成就啊，
留在人世间却被世人掩蔽不能彰显。

内心犹豫又猜疑啊，
来到岐山脚下陈述情怀。
周文王为我仔细审视占卜的蓍草啊，
飘然远去就会利于保全名声。
游览丛山周游各地啊，
以迅风为翼振翅飞翔声名远播。
二女相感于高山啊，
寒冰毁坏道路无法修复。
天再高也有恩惠啊，
谁说路不通呢！
勉励自强进取不息啊，
踏上高峻的玉阶。
惧怕占卜人的卜筮啊，
钻龟甲以观吉祥。
见到沼泽边上的大鸟啊，
抱怨自己平素的意愿不能实现。
远游尘世之外看到天边啊，
幽远莫测鸟儿哀鸣。
恶人因贪婪而争夺啊，
我高尚纯洁更加荣耀。
远游者与鹤素有渊源啊，
归返大道而后得安宁。

In whom can I find a proper companion?
Alas, it's hard for evil and goodness to coexist;
I would like to follow Han Zhong and flow off into oblivion.
I fear that even with time I could not emulate him;
Yet by remaining in the world I shall be obscured and unnoticed.

IV

My heart still is undecided, uncertain,
And thus to Mount Qi I go and unfold my feelings.
Lord Wen lays out the milfoil stalks for me:
"'Tis favorable to fly and flee to preserve your good name.
Cross the mountains and travel far and wide;
Wing on the swift wind to spread your fame.
Two Maidens are aroused on a lofty peak;
Perhaps ice breaks and is not repaired.
The canopy of Heaven is high, yet becomes a lake;
Who says the road is not smooth?
Strive unceasingly to strengthen yourself;
Tread the towering steepness of the jade stairs."
Fearing the "long and short" of the milfoil diviner,
I drill the eastern tortoise to view my fortune.
I meet the great bird of the ninth marsh;
He complains that his basic wishes are unfulfilled.
He roams beyond the dusty world and touches the heavens;
Clinging to the gloomy darkness, he sadly cries.
The eagle and osprey pursue their greedy desires,
While I cultivate purity to enhance my fine name.
"Thou hast affinity with the dark bird;
Return to the Mother and thou shalt find peace."

【原文】

占既吉而无悔兮，
简元辰而俶装。
旦余沐于清原兮，
晞余发于朝阳。
漱飞泉之沥液兮，
咀石菌之流英。
翾鸟举而鱼跃兮，
将往走乎八荒。
过少皞之穷野兮，
问三丘于句芒。
何道真之淳粹兮，
去秽累而飘轻。
登蓬莱而容与兮，
鳌虽抃而不倾。
留瀛洲而采芝兮，
聊且以乎长生。
凭归云而遐逝兮，
夕余宿乎扶桑。
饮青岑之玉醴兮，
餐沆瀣以为粮。
发昔梦于木禾兮，
谷昆仑之高冈。

朝吾行于汤谷兮，
从伯禹于稽山。
嘉群神之执玉兮，

【今译】

占卜已经得到吉兆没有灾祸了啊，
选择良辰开始整理行装。
早晨在清流边洗头啊，
在山的东面晒干头发。
用飞泉的流水漱口啊，
咀嚼飘落的灵芝花。
鸟儿疾速高飞，鱼儿跳跃啊，
将走向八方荒远的地方。
经过少皞居住的穷桑之野啊，
向木神句芒打听海上的三座仙山。
道的真谛多么淳厚精粹啊，
去掉俗事牵累飘逸轻扬。
登上蓬莱从容自得啊，
背负蓬莱山的巨鳌虽拍水却不倾斜。
留在瀛洲采灵芝啊，
姑且在这儿长生不老。
借行云远游啊，
晚上我住在扶桑。
饮青山的甘泉啊，
吃露水当干粮。
在木禾上入梦啊，
在昆仑山的高岗上种粮。

早晨我行走在日出之处啊，
跟从夏禹到会稽山。
赞许禹的群臣执玉前来朝拜啊，

V

Since the oracle is auspicious and predicts no harm,
I choose a propitious time and make ready to depart.
At dawn I wash my hair in a limpid fount.
And dry myself in the morning sun.
I sip the flowing liquid of gushing springs,
Chew the fallen petals of stone mushrooms.
Swift as a soaring bird, a leaping fish,
I journey through the eight wastes.
Crossing Shaohao's Remote Wilderness,
I ask Goumang about the three hills.
How pure and untainted the Way of the True!
I shed my filthy bonds and make myself light.
I climb Penglai and sally about;
Although a giant turtle thrashes the water, the island does not topple;
I stay at Yingzhou and gather mushrooms,
Hoping with them to prolong my life.
Riding a returning cloud I go off into the distance,
And spend the night at Fusang.
I drink the jade elixir from green crags,
Eat midnight vapors for sustenance.
At night I conjure up a dream of the tree-grain,
Growing high on Kunlun's peaks.

VI

At daybreak I travel to Dawn Valley,
And accompany Lord Yu to Ji Mountains.
I admire the host of spirits who carried jade,

【原文】

疾防风之食言。
指长沙之邪径兮，
存重华乎南邻。
哀二妃之未从兮，
翩傧处彼湘濒。
流目眺夫衡阿兮，
睹有黎之圮坟。
痛火正之无怀兮，
讬山陂以孤魂。
愁蔚蔚以慕远兮，
越卬州而愉敖。
跻日中于昆吾兮，
憩炎天之所陶。
扬芒熛而绛天兮，
水泫沄而涌涛。
温风翕其增热兮，
惄郁邑其难聊。
颤羁旅而无友兮，
余安能乎留兹?

顾金天而叹息兮，
吾欲往乎西嬉。
前祝融使举麾兮，
缅朱鸟以承旗。
躔建木于广都兮，
拓若华而踌躇。
超轩辕于西海兮，

【今译】

痛恨防风氏背弃诺言。
指向长沙郡的小路啊，
问候南边的近邻大舜。
哀叹娥皇女英二妃未能同去啊，
飞奔至湘江之滨。
放眼望向衡山脚下啊，
看见祝融被毁坏的坟墓。
痛惜祝融灵魂无所归依啊，
孤魂寄托于山坡。
愁绪郁闷向往远方啊，
出卬州四处遨游。
登上正午太阳所经的昆吾，
在灼热的阳光下休息。
太阳射出的光芒使天空变成了红色啊，
河水翻腾涌起波涛。
温暖的风聚集起来更热了啊，
忧愁苦闷无所寄托。
旅程孤单没有友人啊，
我怎能留在这里?

回顾西方叹息啊，
我想去那里游戏。
让祝融在前举旗统领啊，
缀上朱鸟的图案做飘带与旗相连。
在广都经过了神木啊，
拾取神木的落花徘徊不前。
在西方经过轩辕国啊，

And detest Fangfeng for breaking his word.
Following an indirect route to Changsha,
I visit Chonghua amongst the southern neighbors.
I grieve that his two consorts never joined him there,
But flew off to dwell by the banks of the Xiang.
Wandering my gaze over Mount Heng's crags,
I sight Chongli's ruined grave.
I sorrow that the Fire Regulator has no place to return;
His solitary soul has been entrusted to the mountain slopes.
With grief welling deep within me, I yearn for the distance;
I cross Angzhou and wander happily.
I ascend Kunwu when the sun reaches noon,
And rest in a place seared by blazing fire.
It throws up sparks and flames that redden the sky;
Water froths and foams, spurts and spouts.
A warm wind, blowing hard, increases the heat;
Distraught and sad, I cannot rest at ease.
Wandering alone, with nary a friend,
How can I remain here?

VII

Looking toward Jintian, I heave a sigh;
I shall go west to seek enjoyment.
I order Zhurong to go before me and raise the signal flag;
Following behind is the Vermilion Bird, who carries the banner.
I halt at the Standing Tree in Guangdu.
Pause to pluck Ruo's blossoms.
I traverse Xuanyuan in the Western Sea,

【原文】	【今译】
跨汪氏之龙鱼。	跨过汪氏国的龙鱼。
闻此国之千岁兮，	听说这些国家的人寿命有千年啊，
曾焉足以娱余？	怎么能足以让我愉悦呢？
思九土之殊风兮，	想九州不同的风俗啊，
从蓐收而遂徂。	前往拜会西方神明蓐收。
欻神化而蝉蜕兮，	神化轻盈脱胎换骨啊，
朋精粹而为徒。	以精细淳美为朋。
蹶白门而东驰兮，	踏过白门向东飞驰啊，
云台行乎中野。	我穿行于云台的荒野之中。
乱弱水之潺湲兮，	横渡流淌的弱水啊，
逗华阴之湍渚。	在太华山背面急流中的小洲逗留。
号冯夷俾清津兮，	召唤河伯让其使渡口清澈啊，
棹龙舟以济予。	用龙舟渡我过河。
会帝轩之未归兮，	这时黄帝还未归来啊，
怅徜徉而延伫。	失望地久久伫立。
呬河林之蓁蓁兮，	在茂盛的河边树林里休息啊，
伟《关雎》之戒女。	赞美《关雎》中的告诫。
黄灵詹而访命兮，	黄帝到了向他询问命运前途啊，
摎天道其焉如。	探寻天道往何处发展。
曰：“近信而远疑兮，	答：“身边事可知而天道不可知啊，
六籍阙而不书。	六经缺失没有记载。
神逵昧其难覆兮，	神秘的自然之道幽深难以知晓啊，
畴克谋而从诸？	谁能够了解进而遵从它呢？

Stride across Wangshi and its mighty dragon fish.
I have heard of the thousand-year-olds of this state;
But how can this give me any pleasure?

VIII

Pondering the different customs of the nine lands,
I go forth in pursuit of Rushou.
Suddenly my spirit transforms, and I shed my old body;
Pure essence now is my friend and companion.
Marching through White Portal, I gallop eastward,
Where I trek the midst of the wilds.
I ford the burbling waters of Weak River,
Halt at an islet in the rapids of Huayin.
I shout to Pingyi to clear the ford;
Rowing a dragon boat, he ferries me across.
But Lord Xuan has not yet returned.
Sadly I wander about, pacing to and fro.
As I rest in the thick grass of Helin,
I praise "The Osprey," which was a warning to women.

IX

The Yellow Lord's spirit arrives, and I ask him my fate:
"In seeking the Heavenly Way, where do I go?"
He says, "Trust the near, doubt the distant;
The Six Classics failed to write about this.
The path of the spirits is dark and hard to explore;
Who can understand and follow it?

【原文】	【今译】
牛哀病而成虎兮，	牛哀病了七天而变成老虎啊，
虽逢昆其必噬。	即使是遇到自己的兄长也要吃掉。
鳖令殪而尸亡兮，	蜀王鳖令死了尸体却不见了啊，
取蜀禅而引世。	取得蜀帝禅让王位而延长了世代。
死生错而不齐兮，	死生复杂难以知晓啊，
虽司命其不晰。	即使是司命之神也看不清楚。
窦号行于代路兮，	窦姬在去代地的路上哭泣啊，
后膺祚而繁庑。	受皇后之位子孙兴旺。
王肆侈于汉庭兮，	王皇后在汉朝廷中穷奢极欲啊，
卒衔恤而绝绪。	最终不免含恨而没有后嗣。
尉龙眉而郎潜兮，	颜驷眉毛斑白老于郎署而不被升迁啊，
逮三叶而遘武。	赶上三代君王直至遇到汉武帝。
董弱冠而司衮兮，	董贤二十岁就官至大司马啊，
设王隧而弗处。	修筑地道墓室死后却未能进入。
夫吉凶之相仍兮，	吉凶是相互依存的啊，
恒反侧而靡所。	永远反复轮回没有终止。

“穆负天以悦牛兮，	“叔孙豹违背天意宠爱竖牛啊，
竖乱叔而幽主。	竖牛却作乱把叔孙豹幽禁起来。
文断袪而忌伯兮，	晋文公因衣袖被斩断而忌恨伯楚啊，
阉谒贼而宁后。	伯楚作恶后又报有人谋反使晋文公幸免于难。
通人暗于好恶兮，	通达事理的人却看不清好恶啊，
岂昏惑而能剖？	昏聩糊涂的人又怎么能分辨清楚？
嬴擿谶而戒胡兮，	秦王嬴政迷信谶书而戒备胡人啊，
备诸外而发内。	防备外来的敌人而内部却发生了祸患。

When ill, Niu Ai transformed into a tiger;
Even his own brother he was bound to eat.
Bieling died, and his corpse disappeared,
Yet later he assumed the Shu succession, and for many generations his clan ruled.
The process of life and death is complex and uneven;
Even the Master of Fate does not comprehend it.
Lady Dou wailed as she traveled the road to Dai;
Later, she was blessed as empress and her family flourished.
Lady Wang flourished in the Han court,
But in the end, harboring grief, she died heirless.
The gray-browed commandant fell into obscurity as gentleman,
But after three reigns he met Emperor Wu.
At twenty, Dong Xian wore ministerial robes;
They built him a royal tomb, but he never occupied it.
Fortune and misfortune are intertwined;
They are constantly reversing and shifting with no fixed rule.

X

Mu, who dreamed the sky was pressing down on him, was pleased with Niu;
But this man wreaked havoc on the Shusun clan and imprisoned his master.
Duke Wen resented Bo for cutting off his sleeve,
But this same eunuch informed of a plot and made his lord secure.

If discerning men do not understand how to distinguish good from evil,
How can the muddled and confused make proper judgments?
Ying received a warning to beware of Hu;
Although he prepared for an external attack, the real threat came from within.

【原文】

或犨贿而违车兮，
孕行产而为对。
慎、灶显以言天兮，
占水火而妄讯。
梁叟患夫黎丘兮，
丁厥子而事刃。
亲所睇而弗识兮，
矧幽冥之可信？
毋绵挛以涬己兮，
思百忧以自疢。

【今译】

有周犨用车拉着财物逃避张车子啊，
却在路上遇到有人得子而取名张车子。
梓慎、裨灶二人通晓天象啊，
预测水火之灾却有错误。
梁国的老人害怕黎丘有假扮其子的奇鬼啊，
当他真的儿子来时却用剑刺杀。
亲眼所见却不认识啊，
何况暗昧不明的事情怎能相信？
不要受尘世束缚而自寻烦恼啊，
更不要忧心忡忡伤害自己。

【原文】

“彼天监之孔明兮，
用棐忱而佑仁。
汤蠲体以祷祈兮，
蒙厖褫以拯民。
景三虑以营国兮，
荧惑次于它辰。
魏颗亮以从理兮，
鬼亢回以敝秦。
咎繇迈而种德兮，
德树茂乎英六。
桑末寄夫根生兮，
卉既凋而已毓。
有无言而不仇兮，
又何往而不复？
盍远迹以飞声兮，
孰谓时之可蓄？”

【今译】

“那上天看得很清楚啊，
所以帮助诚信的人保佑仁义的人。
商汤沐浴祈祷上天啊，
得到洪福以拯救百姓。
宋景公治理国家考虑再三啊，
火星处于相、民、岁三星。
魏颗忠诚地遵从魏武子清醒时的遗命啊，
鬼魂对抗杜回打败了秦军。
皋陶勤勉地传布德行啊，
在英六广袤的地域培植仁德。
桑末依附于根而寄生啊，
即使凋谢了后代也依然茂盛。
有没有善言得不到酬报的说法啊，
又有什么施德得不到报答呢？
何不远游去传播仁德的声誉啊，
谁说时光是可以留住的呢？”

Someone loaded his wealth in a wagon in order to elude a child named Cart;
But on the road a pregnant woman gave birth to a boy by this name.
Shen and Zao became prominent through their ability to explain Heaven,
But in predicting fire and flood they made false pronouncements.
The old man of Liang was vexed by the demon of Liqiu;
Encountering his son, he stabbed him with a sword.
If what one sees with his own eyes cannot be understood,
How can the hidden and dark be trusted?
Do not become entangled or led by personal concerns;
Brooding on your cares only makes you ill.

XI

Heaven's purview is truly discerning;
Thus, it aids the sincere and helps the benevolent.
Tang purified his body to pray and sacrifice;
He received great blessings and thereby saved his people.
Duke Jing felt three concerns in managing his state;
Thus, Mars lodged in another stellar station.
Wei Ke loyally followed his father's clear-minded charge;
Thus, the ghost repelled Hui, thereby defeating Qin.
Gaoyao went forth to sow his virtue;
The virtue he planted flourished in Ying and Liu.
An epiphyte attaches its roots to the top of the mulberry;
Although the host plant withers, it continues to grow.
There is no word that goes unanswered;
How can one depart without returning?
Why not journey in order to display your good name?
Who says time can be stayed?"

【原文】

仰矫首以遥望兮，
魂惝惘而无畴。
逼区中之隘陋兮，
将北度而宣游。
行积冰之硙硙兮，
清泉冱而不流。
寒风凄而永至兮，
拂穹岫之骚骚。
玄武缩于壳中兮，
腾蛇蜿而自纠。
鱼矜鳞而并凌兮，
鸟登木而失条。
坐太阴之屏室兮，
慨含欷而增愁。
怨高阳之相寓兮，
伷颛顼之宅幽。
庸织络于四裔兮，
斯与彼其何瘳？
望寒门之绝垠兮，
纵余緤乎不周。
迅飙潚其媵我兮，
骛翩飘而不禁。
趋谽嗍之洞穴兮，
漂通川之硱硱。
经重阴乎寂寞兮，
愍坟羊之潜深。

【今译】

翘首远望啊，
惆怅失望没有伴侣。
迫近人世间的狭窄简陋啊，
将要北上而遍游。
行走在厚厚的积冰上啊，
清泉冻结不再流动。
寒风凛冽肆虐已久啊，
呼啸着吹过山峰。
玄武神兽龟缩在壳中啊，
腾蛇自己卷曲盘结。
鱼儿冻得抖动鳞片与冰凌相触啊，
鸟儿在树的枝条上冻得站不住。
坐在北方幽深的居室里啊，
心生感慨暗自唏嘘而徒增忧愁。
怨古帝高阳为所居占卜吉凶啊，
轻视颛顼居住在北方。
辛苦地往来于四方边远之地啊，
此地与彼地又有什么优劣之分呢？
眺望北方极寒之地辽远无垠啊，
在不周山放开坐骑的绳索。
迅疾的旋风送我一程啊，
飘忽奔驰无所阻碍。
越过空旷的山洞啊，
浮游在深广的大河上。
经过幽静的地下啊，
同情土怪坟羊深潜于地下。

XII

I raise my head and gaze into the distanee;
My soul is unsettled, perplexed, without a eompanion.
Pressed by the narrow eonfinement of the eentral realm,
I shall northward go, wandering far and wide.
I walk the glistening whiteness of Aeeumulated Iee;
Clear springs, frozen solid, no longer flow.
Freezing winds, biting eold, ineessantly blowing,
Strike lofty peaks with howling fury.
The Dark Warrior shrinks into his shell;
The Leaping Serpent twists and eoils itself.
Seales quivering, fish freeze into the iee;
Alighting on trees, birds slip from branehes.
Sitting in a sealed ehamber in the land of Greater Yin,
I sigh and sob and am inereasingly sad.
I resent that Gaoyang divined this dwelling;
I am indignant at Zhuanxu for residing in this dark plaee.
With labored effort I weave my way over the four marehes;
Neither this way nor that offers any relief.
Gazing toward the Gate of Coldness at the world's end,
I slaeken the reins and head for Buzhou.
A swift whirlwind rapidly pushes me along;
Light and fast I gallop, unimpeded.
I dash through a yawning, gaping cavern,
Drift over a deep, plunging pool,
Cross the quiet stillness of layered shadows,
Pity the subterranean goat hidden so deep in the ground.

【原文】

追荒忽于地底兮，
轶无形而上浮。
出石密之暗野兮，
不识蹊之所由。
速烛龙令执炬兮，
过钟山而中休。
瞰瑶溪之赤岸兮，
吊祖江之见刘。
聘王母于银台兮，
羞玉芝以疗饥。
戴胜慭其既欢兮，
又诮余之行迟。
载太华之玉女兮，
召洛浦之宓妃。
咸姣丽以蛊媚兮，
增嫮眼而娥眉。
舒妙婧之纤腰兮，
扬杂错之袿徽。
离朱唇而微笑兮，
颜的砾以遗光。
献环琨与玙缡兮，
申厥好以玄黄。
虽色艳而赂美兮，
志浩荡而不嘉。
双材悲于不纳兮，
并咏诗而清歌。
歌曰：
“天地烟煴，

【今译】

在幽昧不明的地底奔驰啊，
超过天地间元气的混沌向上漂浮。
走出石密山的幽暗山野啊，
看不到小路从哪里通过来。
召来烛龙让它执掌火炬啊，
走过钟山在途中歇息。
远眺钟山东溪谷的崖岸啊，
哀悼祖江被杀。
在银台拜望西王母啊，
王母送我灵芝草以解除饥饿。
西王母愉快地笑着啊，
又责怪我走得太慢。
用车载来华山的神女啊，
召唤洛水之滨的女神。
都是漂亮美丽妖冶妩媚的啊，
蛾眉弯弯眉目传情。
舒展苗条的腰身啊，
衣服上的香缨错杂飘动。
朱唇微启面带微笑啊，
容颜闪烁焕发光彩。
献上珠玉和宝带啊，
用彩色丝帛表示友好。
虽然容色艳丽礼物美好啊，
志向放浪不拘并不以为美。
玉女和宓妃因为不被接纳而悲伤啊，
一同咏诗并不用伴奏而歌唱。
歌词说：
“天地间阴阳相和，

XIII

I chase the wispy ephemera beneath the earth,
Overleap the formless and float above.
When I emerge at the dark plain of Mi,
I do not know which path to follow.
I hasten the Candescent Dragon to carry the torch;
We cross Mount Zhong and rest there.
I look at the scarlet banks of Carnelian Ravine,
And condole with Zujiang, who was murdered here.
I am invited to the silver terrace of the Queen Mother;
She offers jade mushrooms to allay my hunger.
Wearing a headdress, smiling her pleasure,
She teases me for arriving late.
She sends a carriage for the Jade Maiden of Taihua,
Summons Consort Fu from the Luo River banks.
Both are winsome and fair, entrancing and alluring;
Add to that lovely eyes and moth eyebrows.
They bend their dainty waists so fine and slender,
Fluttering jacket ribbons of assorted hues and kinds.
They part their vermilion lips in a coy smile;
Their faces, glistening and gleaming, cast a brilliant luster.
They present me jade pendants and a studded belt,
Express their affection with black and yellow silks.
Although their features are fair, and their gifts beautiful,
My heart, pure and detached, finds them unpraiseworthy.
The two maidens are saddened at not being accepted;
Together they intone a poem, singing in clear voice.
Their song goes:
"Heaven and Earth combine their generative forces;

【原文】	【今译】
百卉含葩。	各种草木花卉含苞待放。
鸣鹤交颈，	白鹤交颈鸣叫，
雎鸠相和。	雎鸠相互应和。
处子怀春，	处女思念感怀，
精魂回移。	灵魂萦回游移。
如何淑明，	如此聪明，
忘我实多。”	全然忘了我们。”
将答赋而不暇兮，	远游者想酬答二女所赋却无闲暇啊，
爰整驾而亟行。	于是整理车驾疾速而行。
瞻昆仑之巍巍兮，	仰望昆仑巍峨啊，
临萦河之洋洋。	俯视山下萦绕的河水汹涌澎湃。
伏灵龟以负坻兮，	降伏灵龟让其将河中小丘背走啊，
亘螭龙之飞梁。	横贯无角之龙飞架之桥。
登阆风之曾城兮，	登上阆风山的高城啊，
构不死而为床。	用不死之树做床。
屑瑶蘂以为糇兮，	把玉树的花蕊研成细末做成干粮啊，
斟白水以为浆。	舀不死之水做成酒。
抨巫咸以占梦兮，	指使巫咸来占梦啊，
乃贞吉之元符。	占卜得吉兆有大祥瑞。
滋令德于正中兮，	滋长美德在正当中啊，
含嘉秀以为敷。	正如草木之花散发香气。
既垂颖而顾本兮，	要像垂穗的禾苗顾念根本啊，
尔要思乎故居。	总是思念故乡。
安和静而随时兮，	安于和谐宁静顺应时势啊，
姑纯懿之所庐。	是高尚完美节操的所居之处。

大中华文库

The hundred plants are laden with blossoms.
Calling cranes intertwine their neeks;
Ospreys cry in harmonious accord.
Young maidens harbor spring thoughts;
Their spirits and souls are restless, perturbed.
Why does one so pure and wise,
Ignore us so completely?"

XIV

I would answer their poem, but I have no time;
Thereupon, I prepare my earriage and abruptly depart.
Gazing upon the majestic heights of Kunlun,
I look down upon the swollen waters of thc winding Yinghe.
Subduing the saered turtle, I bid him bear the river isle;
I cross a soaring bridge formed by krakens and dragons,
Climb Langfeng's Storied Wall,
Build a bed from the tree of immortality.
I grind earnelian petals for my provisions,
Dip from thc Whitc Water for my drink.
I order Shaman Xian to interpret my dream;
It truly was a good sign auspiciously divined.
"Lct your good virtue flourish in proper centrality;
Embracc your fine grain and let it spread.
Since its ears hang down and look toward the roots,
You must direct your thoughts toward your old home.
Be eontent with harmony and tranquility, flow with thc times;
Rest in the place where perfeet goodness abides."

【原文】	【今译】
戒庶寮以夙会兮，	告请诸位神灵及早集合啊，
佥恭职而并迓。	都供职来一同迎接。
丰隆轩其震霆兮，	雷神打雷雷声震天啊，
列缺晔其照夜。	电光闪耀照亮黑夜。
云师䨴以交集兮，	雨师使阴云密布啊，
冻雨沛其洒涂。	暴雨滂沱沿途倾洒。
轙雕舆而树葩兮，	等待玉饰的车树起华美的车盖啊，
扰应龙以服辂。	驯服应龙来驾车。
百神森其备从兮，	众多神仙全部跟从啊，
屯骑罗而星布。	众多的随从骑兵如天星密布。
振余袂而就车兮，	抖动我的衣袖上车啊，
修剑揭以低昂。	举起长剑上下挥舞。
冠咢咢其映盖兮，	帽子高高耸起映衬着华盖啊，
佩綝缅以辉煌。	玉佩繁多华美辉煌。
仆夫俨其正策兮，	车夫恭敬地端正他的马鞭啊，
八乘腾而超骧。	驾车的八匹马腾越向前。
氛旄溶以天旋兮，	以雾气为旗在天空飘舞啊，
蜺旌飘而飞扬。	以云霞为旗在天空飞扬。
抚軨轵而还眄兮，	抚摸车箱间的栏杆回头望啊，
心灼药其若汤。	心里灼热就像开水翻滚。
羡上都之赫戏兮，	羡慕天宫的壮观华美啊，
何迷故而不忘？	为何眷恋旧时曾游之地而不忘呢？
左青雕之揵芝兮，	左侧竖着青龙的伞盖啊，
右素威以司钲。	右边有白虎掌管着铙。
前长离使拂羽兮，	前有凤鸟振翅啊，
后委衡乎玄冥。	后委任水衡之官给玄冥。

XV

I command the various officers to assemble early;
All dutifully come and greet me.
Fenglong unleashes his thunderbolts;
The fiery fissures brilliantly light up the sky.
The Cloud Master darkly masses clouds together;
Driving rain, in torrents, sprinkles the road.
Readying my jade-inlaid chariot, I raise the flowery canopy;
Tame a winged dragon to draw my carriage.
The hundred spirits in great numbers follow in full array;
The grouped horsemen in orderly files scatter like stars.

XVI

Shaking my sleeves, I mount the chariot;
I wield a long sword, thrusting it upward and downward.
My cap, tall and high, reflects in the canopy;
My girdle, luxuriant and full, brightly glistens.
My coachman sternly adjusts the whip,
And my eight-horse team, prancing proudly, gallops off.
Vapor banners swell up and whirl in the sky;
Rainbow streamers flutter and flap in the wind.
Stroking the grilled dash, I look back;
My heart is burning hot like boiling water.
Since I admire the dazzling splendor of the supernal city,
Why am I so beguiled by home I cannot forget it?
On the left, a green patterned dragon raises a mushroom canopy;
On the right, the white eminence handles the bell.
In front, I send Changli to spread his wings;
To the rear, I entrust the Directorship of Waters to Xuanming.

【原文】	【今译】
属箕伯以函风兮，	嘱托箕伯怀风啊，
澄澒涊而为清。	将尘埃污垢都清除掉。
曳云旗之离离兮，	手持飘动的云旗啊，
鸣玉鸾之嘤嘤。	车上的鸾铃响声清脆。
涉清霄而升遐兮，	穿过天边的浮云离世隐居啊，
浮蔑蒙而上征。	漂浮在云气中向上而行。
纷翼翼以徐戾兮，	纷扰整齐的慢慢到来啊，
焱回回其扬灵。	光芒四射显示神异。
叫帝阍使辟扉兮，	呼唤天帝的守门人来开门啊，
觌天皇于琼宫。	在玉宫与天帝相见。
聆《广乐》之九奏兮，	聆听天上《广乐》九章的乐曲啊，
展泄泄以彤彤。	的确感到安详合乐。
考治乱于律均兮，	从乐律和乐调来探究社会政事啊，
意建始而思终。	广乐的演奏从始至终都引人思索。
惟盘逸之无斁兮，	想到快乐安逸就不会满足啊，
惧乐往而哀来。	又怕快乐离去而哀愁到来。
素抚弦而余音兮，	神女抚动琴弦余音缭绕啊，
太容吟曰念哉。	乐师太容叹息思虑。
既防溢而静志兮，	防止逸乐过度而要树立志向啊，
迨我暇以翱翔。	等我有闲暇了就去遨游。
出紫宫之肃肃兮，	出了幽静的紫宫啊，
集太微之阆阆。	来到高大空朗的太微星下。
命王良掌策驷兮，	命王良执鞭天驷星啊，
逾高阁之锵锵。	越过高峻的高阁星。
建罔车之幕幕兮，	把罔车星掩蔽得很严密啊，

I appoint Winnow Lord to embrace the wind;
He purges filth and dust and makes things clean.
Trailing behind me are cloud banners flapping and fluttering;
Jade carriage bells resound, jingling and tinkling.
Crossing the clear empyrean, I ascend the distant heights;
Drifting the misty murk, I journey upward.
Soaring smoothly amidst spirit hosts, I slowly advance;
The light, flashing and flaring, casts off a numinous glow.
I call to the Celestial Porter to open the door,
So that I may visit the Sovereign of Heaven in the Jasper Palace.
I listen to the nine movements of the "All-embracing Music";
It pours forth joyfully, harmonious and concordant.
Observing that order and disorder are expressed in musical pitches and sounds,
I reflect on how things begin, ponder how they end.
But the craving for delight and ease is never sated,
And I fear that once joy departs sadness will return.
The White Maiden strums a zither, and the melody lingers on;
Tairong sighs and says, "Think on this!"
Having restrained my passion, I calm my mind;
When I have leisure I shall soar away.

XVII

I leave the solemn majesty of the Purple Palace,
And arrive at the towering heights of Taiwei.
I command Wang Liang to spur on the Quadriga;
We cross the Lofty Gallery towering on high.
I deploy the Net Cart, its mesh broadly spread,

【原文】	【今译】
猎青林之芒芒。	在辽阔的天苑星打猎。
弯威弧之拔刺兮，	在威弧星拉弓啊，
射嶓冢之封狼。	射嶓冢山上的封狼星。
观壁垒于北落兮，	在北落星观看军队的营垒啊，
伐河鼓之磅硠。	在河鼓星击鼓敲打。
乘天潢之泛泛兮，	跨过流动的天河啊，
浮云汉之汤汤。	漂过水势浩大的银河。
倚招摇摄提以低四劉流兮，	依傍招摇摄提二星徘徊缭绕啊，
察二纪五纬之绸缪遹皇。	察看日月五行的往来运行。
偃蹇夭矫娩以连卷兮，	高耸伸张跳跃弯曲自如啊，
杂沓丛顀颗飒以方骧。	杂乱纷繁迅疾地奔离散开。
𩐁汩飄汩沛以罔象兮，	迅疾如无物啊，
烂漫丽靡藐以迭逷。	华丽辽远往来奔驰。
凌惊雷之砊磕兮，	驾驭铿锵的惊雷啊，
弄狂电之淫裔。	戏弄闪烁不断的闪电。
逾庬鸿于宕冥兮，	穿越浑然广大的天地混沌之气啊，
贯倒景而高厉。	穿过天上最高处而高升。
廓荡荡其无涯兮，	空旷辽阔没有边际啊，
乃今窥乎天外。	而今在天外窥视。
据开阳而頫盼兮，	凭依着开阳星向下俯视啊，
临旧乡之暗蔼。	看到故乡遥不可及。
悲离居之劳心兮，	内心因离开故乡而伤悲啊，
情悁悁而思归。	情意缠绵忧伤思归。
魂眷眷而屡顾兮，	魂魄眷念多次回首啊，
马倚辀而徘徊。	马倚着车辕徘徊不前。

And hunt the vast expanse of Blue Grove.
Drawing the fearsome Bow, bending it full,
I shoot the giant Wolf of Bozhong.
I inspect the Ramparts at Northern Settlement,
Beat the rumbling River Drum.
Riding the surging swell of Celestial Torrent,
I float the fluvial flow of Han in the Clouds.
Leaning on the Twinkler and Conductors, I whirl and turn,
And perceive the continuous coursing of Two Norms and Five Wefts.
Proudly prancing, supple and lissome, upward they leap, turning and twisting;
Diversely disposed, in teeming throngs, suddenly they disperse.
Whizzing and whooshing along, flowing in an amorphic blur,
They scatter and spread, far away, passing one another.
I ride into the droning din of frightening thunder,
Play with the fiery flash of frenzied lightning,
Overtake the primal vapors of the boundless murk,
Pass the Upturned Phosphors, soaring on high.
All is broad, vast, stretching to infinity;
Now I can explore the realm beyond the heavens.

XVIII

Reclining on Kaiyang, I gaze downward,
And behold my old home dimly revealed.
I am sad that living apart troubles the heart;
My feelings turn sad, and I think of returning home.
My soul is full of longing, and I look back again and again;
My horse leans against the chariot shaft, reluctant to go on.

【原文】

虽遨游以媮乐兮，
岂愁慕之可怀？
出阊阖兮降天涂，
乘飙忽兮驰虚无。
云霏霏兮绕余轮，
风眇眇兮震余旟。
缤联翩兮纷暗暧，
倏眩眃兮反常闾。

收畴昔之逸豫兮，
卷淫放之遐心。
修初服之娑娑兮，
长余珮之参参。
文章焕以粲烂兮，
美纷纭以从风。
御六艺之珍驾兮，
游道德之平林。
结典籍而为罟兮，
欧儒墨以为禽。
玩阴阳之变化兮，
咏《雅》、《颂》之徽音。
嘉曾氏之《归耕》兮，
慕历陵之崟崟。
恭夙昔而不贰兮，
固终始之所服。
夕惕若厉以省愆兮，
惧余身之未敕也。

【今译】

虽然远游可以苟且寻乐啊，
但思乡的愁绪岂能释怀？
出了天门自天路而降啊，
乘疾风在空中奔驰。
云飘飘啊缠绕着我的车轮，
风徐徐吹动我的旗帜。
杂乱纷扰啊昏暗不明，
迅疾快速啊返回家园。

收起往昔的安逸啊，
收回放纵的远游之心。
整理入仕前的衣服轻轻抖动啊，
使我的佩饰更长。
衣服上的花纹华丽鲜明啊，
美丽繁盛随风飘动。
驾驭六种技艺的宝车啊，
畅游平原上的道德之林。
编辑典籍为网啊，
像追逐鸟儿般追求儒墨思想的精华。
体会阴阳的变化啊，
吟咏《雅》、《颂》这样的美诗。
赞许曾参作的《归耕》琴曲啊，
倾慕历山的高峻。
日夜恭敬没有二心啊，
始终如一坚持不懈。
朝夕戒惧如临危境而反省过错啊，
害怕自身德行之不修。

Although through wandering I find enjoyment,
How can I bear the sorrowful yearning?
Leaving the Gate of Heaven, I descend the celestial road,
Riding the whirling wind, galloping over the empty void.
Clouds, thickly gathered, curl round my wheels;
Wind, blowing from afar, shakes my falcon banners.
Out of this unremitting maelstrom, beglommed in darkness,
Suddenly, in a flash, I return to my old abode.

XIX

I now curb my idle indulgences of the past,
Rein in my desire to roam afar in wild abandon.
I refashion the flowing fullness of my former attire,
Lengthen the streaming splendor of my girdle pendants.
Their elegant pattern dazzles with vivid brilliance;
In resplendent beauty, they flutter in the wind.
I drive the precious equipage of the Six Classics,
Roam the plain and forest of the Way and Virtue,
Tie scriptures and texts into a net,
Chase Ruism and Mohism as my game.
I play with the alternations of yin and yang,
Intone sweet songs the "Odes" and "Hymns."
I praise Zengzi's song "Returning to the Plow,"
Admire the soaring steepness of Li Hill.
Day and night I never waver from my devotion to virtue;
From beginning to end I steadfastly carry out my tasks.
Trembling at night as if in danger, I examine my faults,
Fearful that my character still is unperfected.

【原文】	【今译】
苟中情之端直兮，	如果内心真诚正直啊，
莫吾知而不恧。	没人知道我也不惭愧。
默无为以凝志兮，	默默无为而固守心志啊，
与仁义乎逍遥。	与仁义一同啊安适自得。
不出户而知天下兮，	不出门就知道天下事啊，
何必历远以劬劳？	何苦辛苦劳累地远行呢？
系曰：	总之：
天长地久岁不留，	天长地久岁月不停留，
俟河之清只怀忧。	等待黄河之水变清只能内心忧伤。
愿得远渡以自娱，	愿能远游而自娱自乐，
上下无常穷六区。	天地变化不定游遍六合四方。
超逾腾跃绝世俗，	飞腾跳跃隔绝世俗，
飘遥神举逞所欲。	逍遥神游为所欲为。
天不可阶仙夫希，	天不能通过阶梯登上去，仙人稀少，
《柏舟》悄悄吝不飞。	《柏舟》中忧愁的是无法展翅而飞。
松乔高跱孰能离，	赤松子和王乔仙人超然谁能攀附，
结精远游使心携。	凝神远游心意徒然被牵制。
回志朅来从玄谟，	回心转意何不来遵循玄圣之道，
获我所求夫何思。	得到我所求的还有什么思虑。

As long as my heart remains straight and true,
Though no one knows me, I am not ashamed.
Silent, nonacting, my mind fully focused,
I now wander freely with goodness and propriety.
One can know the world without leaving his house;
Why must one exert himself on a distant journey?

XX

The Epilogue says:
Heaven is eternal, Earth is everlasting, time cannot be delayed;
To wait for the Yellow River to clear only brings one grief.
I wished to travel afar and enjoy myself,
Ascending and descending by no fixed rule to explore the six directions.
Rising above, springing into the sky, I cut myself off from the world;
Light and airy, my soul soared, and I gave free rein to my desires.
But Heaven cannot be scaled, and immortals are few.
Like the "Cypress Boat" poet, troubled and sad, I regretted I could not fly away;
Song and Qiao on their lofty perches—who can approach them?
To concentrate vitality in distant roaming causes the heart to be drawn away;
I thus change my course and come back to follow the profound counsels;
I obtained what I sought—why brood on it further?

(*Translated by David R. Knechtges*)

秦嘉

重报妻书

【原文】

车还空返，甚失所望，兼叙远别恨恨之情，顾有怅然！

间得此镜，既明且好，形观文彩，世所希有，意甚爱之，故以相与。并宝钗一双，好香四种，素琴一张，常所自弹也。明镜可以鉴形，宝钗可以耀首，芳香可以馥身，素琴可以娱耳。

【今译】

车子空返，十分失望，同时诉说别离的悲伤之情，分外怅然！

近来我得到这一件明镜，既明亮又漂亮，它的外形精美、色彩晶莹，世间少有，我非常喜欢，故送与你。还有一双宝钗，四种好香，一张素琴，是我经常弹奏的。明镜可以照出形体，宝钗插在发上能够使你光彩闪耀，芳香可以使你身体清香，素琴可以愉悦你的耳朵。

Qin Jia

Qin Jia's Letter to His Wife

When the chariot returned empty my hopes were greatly frustrated. Again, your expression of resentment at our long parting bears witness of your disappointment.

I have recently obtained this mirror, both bright and beautiful, and possessing elegant features rarely found in this world. Since I cherish it deeply I present it to you. I also send you a couple of jeweled hairpins, four kinds of excellent perfume, and one plain zither which I have often played myself. The bright mirror may serve to reflect your features; the jeweled hairpins may serve to adorn your coiffure; the perfume may serve to cleanse your body and render it fragrant; the plain zither may serve to please your ears.

(*Translated by Göran Malmqvist*)

徐淑

报秦嘉书

【原文】

既惠令音，兼赐诸物，厚顾殷勤，出于非望！

镜有文彩之丽，钗有殊异之观，芳香既珍，素琴益好。惠异物于鄙陋，割所珍以相赐，非丰恩之厚，孰肯若斯？

览镜执钗，情想仿佛；操琴咏诗，思心成结。敕以芳香馥身，喻以明镜鉴形，此言过矣，未获我心也。昔诗人有“飞蓬”之感，班婕妤有“谁荣”之叹。

素琴之作，当须君归；明镜之鉴，当待君还。未奉光仪，则宝钗不列也；未侍帷帐，则芳香不发也。

【今译】

承蒙你对我说了这么多暖心的话，并带给我这么多的礼物，你对我深厚的情意，超乎我的奢望！

明镜有华丽的色彩，宝钗有别致的造型，芳香已经够贵重了，素琴更是我喜欢的。把这些珍贵的礼物送给我这个庸俗浅薄的人，割舍珍爱的东西赐给我，如果不是对我恩爱情深，怎么能够做到这些呢？

照着镜子拿着宝钗，我不禁情思联翩；弹琴咏诗，思念在我心中打成一个解不开的结。让我以香熏身，寓意我对着镜子明鉴自身，这话说过了呀，是你没有真正明白我的心志。古代诗人有“飞蓬”的感慨，班婕妤有“谁荣”的叹息。

弹琴弄歌，必须等到你的归来；对镜打扮，应当等你回来以后。没有见到你的面，宝钗我绝不会戴；如果不是侍奉你于床第之间，再好的芳香我也不用。

Xu Shu's Reply to Her Husband's Letter

By sending me a letter and in addition bestowing upon me all these gifts you reveal a devotion and a solicitude far beyond my expectations.

The mirror possesses elegant beauty, the hairpins are striking in appearance, the perfume has rare qualities and the plain zither is also excellent. Presenting these marvelous gifts to your humble wife you have parted with things that you yourself highly treasure to bestow them upon another. Unless it be a husband capable of truly deep affection, who could act in this way?

I handle the mirror and take hold of the hairpins, my longing mood responds; I grasp the zither and recite a poem, my loving heart is tied into knots. But when you bid to let the perfume render my body fragrant and instruct me to let the bright mirror reflect my features your words indeed err, revealing that you have failed to fathom my heart. A poetess of the past was moved to liken her unkempt hair to "flying artemisia";[1] in her plaintive poem Ban Jieyu asks: "For whom shall I make myself fair?"[2]

Until you, my lord, return, the plain zither must remain mute; until you, my lord, come back, the bright mirror must lie idle. Before I greet your noble countenance the jeweled hairpins shall not be stuck in my hair; before I wait upon you within the bed curtains the fragrance of perfume shall not issue from my body.

(*Translated by Göran Malmqvist*)